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THE HISTORY OF ITALY,

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence*.

IN TWENTY BOOKS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH by the

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Knight of the Military Order of St. *Stephen*.

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Franceſco Guicciardini's
HISTORY
OF
The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK V.

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THE compleat and eaſy Victory, which had rendered the King of *France* abſolute Maſter of the Dutchy of *Milan*, had ſo raiſed his *A. D.* 1500

A. D. 1500. Courage and Ambition, that he would that very Summer have entered the Kingdom of *Naples*, had he not been prevented by the Motions of the *Germans*. For tho' the Year before he had made a Truce with *Maximilian*, in which was comprehended the Dutchy of *Milan*, yet *Cæſar* now reflecting how much the imperial Dignity would ſuffer by the Alienation of ſo conſiderable a Fief, and what juſt Occaſion he had given for Imputations on his Honour and Gratitude by a cold Neutrality and Indifference, in tamely permitting *Lodovico* to be diveſted of his Dominions, while he was in a manner under his Protection, and after receiving ſo much Money from him, refuſed to admit to his Preſence the *French* and *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, and ordered them to be told, that he ſhould treat their Maſters as Uſurpers of the imperial Juriſdiction. His Reſentments were much exaſperated when he received News of the unhappy Fate of the Two Brothers. Their Misfortune awakened his former and hereditary Emulation, and recalled to his Mind the manifold Injuries and

Cæſar's Apprehenſions of the *French* Power.

Pro-

abſolute in *Piſa*, pleaded hard with the Cardinal for the *Piſans*, offering to pay the King a large Sum of Money, inſinuating at the ſame time, that it was his Majeſty's Intereſt to lay hold of all Opportunities to leſſen the Power of the *Florentines* as well as that of the other Potentates of *Italy*. *A. D.* 1500.

BUT the Cardinal was influenced more by a Regard for the King's Honour, and by his freſh Obligations to the *Florentines*, who had, it muſt be confeſſed, punctually fulfilled their Engagements: For, inſtead of Troops, they had ſupplied him with large Sums of Money, which had not a little contributed to his Recovery of *Milan*. In the Paſſage of the Army it was therefore reſolved, to reſtore *Pietraſanta* and *Mutrone* to the *Florentines*, and, in the mean time to enable them to undertake the Siege of *Piſa*, to ſend them a Reinforcement of Six Hundred Lances at the King's Expence, beſides a Body of Five Thouſand *Swiſs* under the Bailiff of *Dijon*, to be maintained at their own Charge, with ſome Companies of *Gaſcons*, a Train of Artillery, and a ſufficient King reſolves to aſſiſt the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1500. Quantity of Ammunition. To this Force was afterwards added, contrary to the King's Intentions, and without any Demand of the *Florentines*, a further Supplement of Two Thouſand *Swiſs*. The Command in Chief of theſe Auxiliaries, at the Requeſt of the *Florentines*, was committed to *Beaumont*, who had ingratiated himſelf with that People, by his readily reſtoring *Livorno*; tho' they ought to have conſidered, that Authority and Knowledge in military Affairs, are as requiſite in a General as Honour and Integrity. The King, indeed, with better Foreſight and Judgment, had appointed to that Poſt *Alegre*, who had much greater Experience, and being of a noble Family, would have commanded more Eſteem and Obedience from the Soldiery.

IT was not long before the Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies that attended *French* Auxiliaries began to diſcover themſelves. For after they had received a Month's Pay, which, according to Agreement, was to begin the Firſt of *May*, they loitered a whole Month in *Lombardy*, and employed themſelves

themſelves in what no way related to the Service. They directed their March thro' the States of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and thoſe of the Lords of *Carpi*, *Correggio*, and *Mirandola*, in order to lay them under Contribution for having given Aſſiſtance to *Lodovico*. But the *Florentines*, grew jealous of theſe Delays which gave their Enemies ſo much Time to make Preparations, that it was thought the Siege of *Piſa* muſt have been deferred to another Year. It was, however, reſolved to make one Step more, and advance another Payment, in hopes to quicken their March. At the Interceſſion of the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Contributions of the Lords of *Carpi*, *Correggio*, and *Mirandola* were ſettled at Twenty Thouſand Ducats; and as for the Marquis of *Mantoua*, he excuſed himſelf, alledging, that it was not in his Power to raiſe any Money; and, at the ſame Time, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to aſk Pardon for his Offence. *Beaumont*, not thinking fit to wait for the King's Orders on that Head, proceeded with his Army to *Montechiarucoli*, a Caſtle in the *Parmeſan*,

A. D. 1500.

A. D. 1500. *meſan*, belonging to the Family of the *Torrelli*, who had alſo favoured *Lodovico*. Here he encamped, not ſo much with a View of puniſhing the Inhabitants, as of ſtriking Terror, by his Approach to *Bologna*, into *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who, having ſided with *Sforza*, was glad to compound for Forty Thouſand Ducats, on Payment of which he and the City of *Bologna* were received into the King's Protection, but with Condition, that it ſhould not any wiſe prejudice the Rights of the Church to that City.

Bentivoglio and Bologna taken into the King's Protection

AFTER the General had thus ſettled with *Bentivoglio*, and forced *Montechiarucoli*, he proceeded towards the Apennines, in his Way to *Pontremoli*. As ſoon as he had entered the *Lunegiana*, moved more by Lucre than a Senſe of Juſtice, at the Inſtigation of the *Fregoſi*, he ſeized on *Maſſa*, and all the Territories belonging to *Alberigo Malcſpina*, tho' this Marquis was under the Protection of the *Florentines*. When the Army arrived before *Pietra-ſanta*, the Place was ſurrendered to them by the *Luccheſe*, contrary to the Inclina-

French ſeize on Maſſa.

tions

tions of the Inhabitants, who roſe on this Occaſion. *Beaumont* put a *French* Garriſon in the Caſtle, but left the Town in Poſſeſſion of the *Luccheſe*; for the Cardinal of *Rouen*, notwithſtanding the King's Stipulations with the *Florentines*, had accepted a Sum of Money from the *Luccheſe*, and received them into his Majeſty's Protection, it being agreed that the ſaid Caſtle ſhould be depoſited in the Hands of the King, till he had determined to whom that Place belonged. *A. D.* 1500. *Luccheſe* received into the King's Protection

THE *Piſans* were reſolved to defend their Liberties to the laſt Extremity, and had put themſelves under the Direction and Conduct of *Vitellozzo*, who bore as great a Hatred to the *Florentines* as themſelves. That brave Officer procured able Engineers to regulate their Fortifications, which were carried on with the utmoſt Vigour, Women as well as Men promiſcuouſly working on them without ceaſing. The Citizens neglected nothing that might move the Hearts, and conciliate the Affections of the *French*. In a full Aſſembly,

D. A. 1500. Assembly, they passed a Decree, declaring themselves Subjects of the King of *France*, and had the same confirmed by a public Instrument drawn according to Law, a Copy of which was sent first to *Beaumont*, and then to *Philip de Ravestein*, who unadvisedly accepted it in the King's Name. As soon as *Beaumont* received the Instrument, he sent a Herald to demand the Surrender of the Town. The *Pisans* answered, that they wished nothing more than to become the King's Vassals, and were willing to comply, on Condition that he would engage for their Security, that they should not afterwards be delivered into the Hands of the *Florentines*. The very Woman also, a moving Sight, all bathed in Tears, addressed the Herald, assuring him that they had no other Ambition than to resign their Freedom to that Crown which first set them at Liberty *. But *Beaumont* refused to admit the

Declare themselves Subjects of *France*.

* The *Pisans* offered to deposit their City in the Hands of the *French* for Four Months, on Condition they would not deliver it to the *Florentines* during that Time; but the *Florentines* distrusting the King, would not hearken to the Proposal. *Florentine Hist.* Book II. P. 38.

the Deputies ſent by the *Piſans* to treat with him on theſe Conditions. *A. D.* 1500.

ON *June* 29th, the *French* opened the Trenches between the Gate that faces the Hills and the Gate *Calceſana*, over againſt the Point called *Barbagianni*. At Night the Battery began to play, and continued moſt part of the next Day, making a Breach in the Wall Sixty Braces*. The Fire then ceaſing, the Beſiegers in great Numbers, Horſe and Foot promiſcuouſly, crouded to the Aſſault. But no Orders had been given, or Proviſion made for paſſing a wide and deep Ditch, which the Beſieged had dug between the Wall and a Rampart they had alſo raiſed. The *French*, who had penetrated to the Ditch, were here put to a full Stop, and paſſed the Remainder of the Day in Aſtoniſhment at the Danger that lay before them, without making any further Attempt. *Piſa* beſieged.

FROM this Time the *Florentines* began to deſpair of Succeſs; for when the *French* were returned to their Camp, and had taken

* A *Florentine* Brace is Twenty Three *Engliſh* Inches.

A. D. 1500. taken into Conſideration the Vaſtneſs of the Ditch, with the Strength of the Rampart and other Fortifications, and above all the Courage and Obſtinacy of the Beſieged, their Spirits began to cool, and abate much of their military Ardor. Beſides, by frequent Acceſs and Converſation with the Citizens they grew familiar with them, and were touched with Compaſſion at their Misfortunes, thinking it hard and cruel to oppreſs People that offer'd to become their Vaſſals. The Intercourſe between the Camp and Town grew every Day more open, and Multitudes went to and fro as they would among Friends. Some of the *French* encouraged the *Piſans* to make Reſiſtance, and when returned to their Camp would plead their Cauſe before the Officers. And not only the *French*, but *Franceſco Trivulzio*, Lieutenant Colonel of *Gianjacopo*'s Regiment, and *Galeazzo Pallavicino*, Colonel of a Regiment at this Siege, two Officers of diſtinguiſhed Merit, interceded with the ſame compaſſionate Regard for the *Piſans*.

A. D. 1500.

IN the mean Time *Vitellozo* had ſent Orders to *Tarlatano*, of *Citta di Caſtello*, to come to the Aſſiſtance of the *Piſans* with ſome diſciplined Men. Theſe Troops entered *Piſa* at the Sea Gate, without Oppoſition from the *French*. *Tarlatano* was at that Time a Man of no Note or Eminence, but being afterwards advanced to the Rank of a Captain, he ſo ſignalized himſelf in the Defence of *Piſa*, during all the Time of the Siege, that he acquired the Name of a gallant Officer.

Diſorders in the Camp before *Piſa*.

THIS Intercourſe with the Enemy occaſioned many Diſorders. The *French* ſeized on the Proviſions that were coming to their own Camp, and grew refractory to the Commands of their General. The Spirit of Sedition increaſed every Day, till at laſt the *Gaſcons* in a tumultuary Manner left the Army, and their Example was ſoon followed by the reſt of the Auxiliaries: Some *German* Infantry, who, by the King's Orders, had been ſent from *Rome* to aſſiſt at this Siege, ſeized on *Luca Albizi* the *Florentine* Commiſſary, under Pretence that they had not received their Arrears

A. D. 1500. Arrears for their Service at *Livorno* *. The *Swiſs* and the reſt of the Foot went quite off, the *French* Lances continued a few Days in the Neighbourhood of *Piſa*, waiting for the King's Orders. But they were ſoon weary of their Situation, and returned into *Lombardy*, leaving their Friends the *Florentines* in ſad Diſtreſs, for they had diſbanded moſt of their own Forces, that they might be punctual in their Payments to the *Swiſs* and *Germans*.

Piſans take Librafatta. THE *Piſans* took Advantage of theſe Diſorders, and ſent out part of their Army to beſiege *Librafatta*, which ſoon ſubmitted, thro' the ill Conduct of the Defenders, and the Reſolution of the Aſſailants; for while all the Garriſon was crouding to the Place where the Aſſault was given, ſome few of the *Piſans*, by the Help of long Ladders, got within the Place on another Side, where the Walls were ſo high, that an Attack was not expected, which ſo intimidated the Beſieged that they ſurrendered at Diſcretion; as did ſoon

* *Luca* paid One Thouſand Three Hundred Ducats for his Ranſom.

ſoon after the Garriſon of *Ventura*, thro' the Cowardice or Treachery of the Governor of that Fort, *San Brandano*, who was a *Luccheſe*. Theſe little Conqueſts were of great Conſequence to the *Piſans*, by giving them more Room to open a Communication with *Lucca*. A. D. 1500.

THE Behaviour of the Kings Troops at *Piſa*, occaſioned him a great deal of Uneaſineſs, on account of the Diſhonour it brought on his Arms. He could not bear the Thoughts that his Forces, which had over-run ſo great a Part of *Italy* without Oppoſition, ſhould now be baffled by a ſingle Town, defended only by its own People, and under no Commander of Eminence. But as it is natural on ſuch Occaſions to ſeek Relief by extenuating the Evil, as not proceeding from our own Neglect or Want of Foreſight or Conduct, he was willing to deceive himſelf, and aſcribed the Miſcarriage to the *Florentines*, who did not ſupply his Troops with Proviſions and Stores, nor provide a ſufficient Number of Pioneers. Such were the Excuſes made by his Officers, who

A. D. 1500. would perſuade his Majeſty that his Troops had been deprived of every Thing but their Courage. *Lewis* alſo thought he had juſt Reaſon to complain of the Imprudence of the *Florentines*, in chuſing *Beaumont* for their General, when he had deſigned *Alegre*, who was a more proper Perſon, and under whom none of thoſe Inconveniencies would have happened. On the other Hand, he was deſirous of retrieving his loſt Credit, and for that Purpoſe diſpatched *Corcou*, his Chamberlain to *Florence*, not ſo much to inform himſelf of the Truth of what was alledged by his Officers, as to hearten and animate the *Florentines* with the Hopes of better Succeſs for the Future, and to deſire their Conſent for ordering his Lances to return into the *Piſan*, and to take up their Quarters there, for haraſſing the City of *Piſa* during the Winter. That early in the Spring he himſelf would come in Perſon with a powerful and well conducted Army, more than ſufficient to reduce the City of *Piſa* to their Obedience. But the *Florentines*,

Corcou ſent to Florence.

tines, deſpairing of any good Effects from *French* Promiſes and *French* Armies, rejected the King's Offers, which put their Affairs in a worſe Situation than ever. For when it was known that the King of *France* was no way intereſted in their Concerns, the *Genoeſe*, *Seneſe*, and *Luccheſe*, made no Scruple of openly aſſiſting the *Piſans* with Men and Money. A. D. 1500.

THE Diſorders alſo daily increaſed in *Florence* among the Citizens, which not only prevented their Attention to the Recovery of what they had loſt, but diſabled them from applying proper Remedies towards the Cure of their domeſtic Diviſions. For in the City of *Piſtoia* the two Factions of the *Panciatici* the *Cancellieri* took up Arms, and hiring ſome Troops in the nature of Regulars, had frequent Skirmiſhes in ſeveral Parts of the Country, to the Deſtruction of many good Subjects, and the great Scandal of the Government, for not exerting itſelf in ſtopping the Progreſs of ſo miſchievous a Combuſtion. Diſturbances in *Piſtoia*.

A. D. 1500.

ALL this while the Affairs of *Cæſar Borgia* went on very proſperouſly. For tho' the King of *France*, diſſatisfied with the Pope for lending him no Aſſiſtance when he invaded the *Milaneſe*, had delayed the March of his Troops which were to aſſiſt as Auxiliaries in the Proſecution of the War againſt the Vicars of *Romagna*, he now ſaw Reaſon to alter his Mind, not thinking it prudent to diſoblige his Holineſs at a Juncture when he lay under Apprehenſions from the *Germans*, who would hearken to no Terms of Accommodation; beſides, he was willing to befriend the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who aſpired to the Dignity of Legate of the Kingdom of *France*, and adviſed him by all Means to cultivate a good Underſtanding with the Pope.

ALEXANDER, on his Part, to cheriſh this good Diſpoſition in *Lewis*, engaged to aſſiſt him with the Forces, and the Perſon of his Son *Valentino*, whenever he ſhould think fit to undertake an Expedition againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, at his

his Requeſt, *Rouen* Legate of *France* for the Term of eighteen Months, but with an Exemption of *Britany* from his Juriſdiction. This Conceſſion, as it was a new Thing, and conſiderably diminiſhed the Pope's Revenues and Intereſt in that Kingdom, was eſteemed a ſingular Favour. The King in return aſſiſted his Holineſs with Three Hundred Lances and Two Thouſand Foot, under *Alegre*, and publiſhed a Declaration, ſignifying that he ſhould look upon as Enemies whoever oppoſed the Undertakings of the Pope. *A. D.* 1500. Cardinal *Rouen* Legate of *France*.

VALENTINO, under Favour of this Declaration, with his Body of Auxiliaries, and his own Forces, which laſt conſiſted of Seven Hundred Men at Arms and Six Thouſand Foot, entered *Romagna*, and took Poſſeſſion of *Peſaro* and *Rimini* without Reſiſtance, the Vicars of thoſe Cities having taken their Flight. From hence he directed his March towards *Faenza*, which had no other Defendants than its own Citizens; for *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who was Grandfather by the Mother's Side to *Valentino's* Succeſs.

A. D. 1500. *Aſtorre* now paſt his Childhood, declined to aſſiſt him, both out of Fear leſt the Pope and his Son ſhould turn their Arms againſt himſelf, and alſo becauſe he had received the King's Orders to the contrary. For the ſame Reaſons the *Florentines* and the Duke of *Ferrara* did not offer their Aſſiſtance; and even the *Venetians*, tho' bound to defend the Infant Lord, gave Notice that they had, at the King's Requeſt, withdrawn their Protection, as they had, for the ſame Reaſon, before done from *Pandolfo Malateſta*, Lord of *Rimini*. And the more effectually to convince the Pope of their hearty Affections in Favour of his Cauſe, they at the ſame Time created *Valentino* a Nobleman of *Venice*; an Honour never beſtowed by the Republic but in acknowledgment of public Benefits received, or as a Token of firm and laſting Friendſhip.

Is erected a Nobleman of *Venice*.

VALENTINO had liſted into his Service *Dionigi di Naldo da Berſighella*, a Man of great Intereſt in *Valdalamona*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he eaſily got Poſſeſſion of the Town of *Berſighella*, and of almoſt all that

that Valley; and having beſieged and taken the old Caſtle, he became Maſter of the new Caſtle by Treaty. He was in Hopes alſo that by Means of this *Dionigi*'s Correſpondence with the Governor of the Caſtle of *Faenza*, a Native of the ſame Valley, and who for a long Time had governed the State of *Aſtorre*, he ſhould get Poſſeſſion of that Fortreſs. But the Plot being diſcovered, the *Faventines* impriſoned the Governor, and were not diſmayed, tho' they ſaw themſelves abandoned by all, and deprived of their Valley, a Loſs of great Importance to them, but reſolved to run all Hazards, for preſerving themſelves in Subjection to the Family of the *Manfredi*, under which they had continued for a long Series of Years; and with this View they applied all their Art and Diligence to fortify their City. A. D. 1500.

VALENTINO finding them reſolved on Reſiſtance, and not to be moved by Promiſes nor Threats, opened the Trenches before the Place, between the Rivers *Lamona* and *Marzano*, and planted his Batteries Siege of *Faenza*.

A. D. 1500. Batteries on the Side towards *Forli*, which is called the Suburb, tho' it is ſurrounded by a Wall and had a ſtrong Baſtion, which the Beſieged had newly erected. After making a ſufficient Breach, eſpecially at the great Gate between the Suburb and the Town, the Duke on the Fifth Day of the Siege, ordered an Aſſault; but the Beſieged behaved with ſuch Reſolution that the Aſſailants were repulſed with great Slaughter, and among the reſt of *Oſſorio Savello*. For ſome Days following the Beſiegers were greatly incommoded by the Cannon of the Place, and by frequent Sallies, tho' there was but a very ſmall Number of hired Troops in the Town. But more intolerable was the Severity of the Seaſon above what was uſual in the Month of *November*, for there fell deep Snows, and the Froſts were very pinching and incommodious to all military Operations, eſpecially to thoſe who were obliged to lodge in the open Air, for the *Faventines* had taken Care, before the Place was inveſted, to deſtroy all the Houſes, and cut down all the Trees in the Neighbourhood. Theſe Difficulties and Inconveniences obliged the Duke to raiſe the Siege

Siege on the Tenth Day, and put his Troops into Winter Quarters, in the Towns and Villages round about; to his no ſmall Mortification, when he conſidered that beſides the *French* Forces, his Army conſiſted of the Flower of the *Italian* Officers and Soldiers; for he had under his Command *Pagolo* and *Giulio Orſini*, *Vitellozzo*, and *Gian Pagolo Baglioni*, and many other choſen Captains; and had flattered himſelf, in his vain Imagination, that neither Seas nor Mountains could ſtop the Courſe of his Victories. Hence he was extremely chagrined at ſeeing the Fame of his military Skill, and warlike Preparations, eclipſed at his very firſt ſetting out, and all his ſanguine Hopes defeated before a little defenceleſs Town, by a People enervated with long Peace, and who had but a Child for their Chief. Full of Indignation he drew off, frequently ſighing, and ſwore with a deep Oath that as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted, he would lead his Troops on the ſame Enterprize, with a Reſolution either to conquer or die.

A. D. 1500.

Siege of *Faenza* raiſed.

A. D. 1500.

IN the mean time *Alexander*, that all his Actions of Life might correſpond, this Year, made a moſt ſcandalous Promotion of Twelve Cardinals, not of ſuch as had the moſt Merit, but of thoſe that offered the moſt Money. And that he might omit no Opportunity of ſerving his avaricious Purpoſes, he publiſhed throughout *Italy* and foreign Countries the Jubilee, which had been celebrated at *Rome* by a vaſt Concourſe of People, eſpecially of the Ultramontanes, with Indulgence to all thoſe who had not choſen to viſit *Rome* on this Occaſion, to partake of the Benefit of the Jubilee, on paying a certain Sum of Money. * The Produce of this Indulgence, together with whatever Sums could be raiſed out of ſpiritual Profits and Emoluments, or the temporal Dominions of the Church, did the holy Father remit to his Son *Valentino*, who had taken up his Winter-Quarters in *Forli*, and was preparing all Things

* The Pope got out of the *Venetian* State, by this Jubilee, 799 Pounds of Gold, which he promiſed to expend in fitting out Twenty Gallies for the Defence of the *Venetians*. *Bembo*.

Things neceſſary for the Siege of *Faenza*, as ſoon as the Seaſon of the Year permitted; nor were the *Faventines* leſs diligent in repairing their Fortifications, and putting their City in a good State of Defence. A. D. 1500.

SUCH were the Tranſactions of the Year 1500; but Deſigns of much greater Importance were formed by the King of *France* for the enſuing Year. That Prince, in order to facilitate the Execution of his Enterprizes, continued his Applications for concluding a Peace with the King of the *Romans*, by which he might obtain of him the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and be left at Liberty to purſue his Deſign upon *Naples*. For this Purpoſe he had recourſe to the Mediation of the Archduke, Son to *Maximilian*, a Prince of a pacific Temper, whoſe Subjects the *Flemings* were utterly averſe to a War with *France*, which would interrupt their Commerce. And as the King had no male Iſſue, he propoſed to give his Daughter *Clouiſe* in Marriage to *Charles*, Son of the Archduke, 1501.

and

A. D. 1501. and with her as a Dowry the Dutchy of *Milan*, as ſoon as they ſhould be of an Age proper to conſummate the Matrimony; for both ſhe and *Charles* were at that time under Three Years old. In the Courſe of this Mediation, tho' there were many Points that offered to be adjuſted, and many Difficulties to be removed that obſtructed the Way to a firm and laſting Peace, yet at length *Maximilian* was induced to make a Truce with the King for ſeveral Months, to begin with the Year 1501, for which the King paid a Sum of Money. In this Truce no mention was made of the King of *Naples*, tho' *Maximilian* had received of that Prince Forty Thouſand Ducats, beſides his Obligation to a further Allowance of Fifteen Thouſand Ducats a Month, if Occaſion required, in conſideration of which *Maximilian* had engaged to enter into no Agreement with *Lewis*, without including *Naples*, and if a War ſhould happen, to make a Diverſion in his Favour, by invading the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Truce between *Maximilian* and the King of *France*.

THE King of *France*, now thinking himſelf

himſelf in Security from any Attempts on the Side of *Germany*, and in hopes that he ſhould, by means of the Archduke, in a ſhort time obtain the Inveſtiture and the Peace he ſo earneſtly deſired, turned all his Thoughts to execute his Deſign on *Naples*. But being apprehenſive that he ſhould be oppoſed by the *Spaniſh* Sovereigns, with whom the *Venetians*, and perhaps alſo the Pontiff, out of Jealouſy of his Greatneſs, might be tempted to join, he reſolved to renew the Negotiation, begun by the late King *Charles*, for a Partition of that Kingdom between them, to which King *Ferdinando* of *Spain* pretended alſo a Title. For tho' *Alfonſo* King of *Aragon* had acquired that Country by a Right diſtinct from that by which he held his Kingdom of *Arragon*, and on that account diſpoſed of it to his natural Son *Ferdinando* as his own Property, yet his Brother *Giovanni*, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, and alſo *Giovanni*'s Son and Succeſſor *Ferdinando*, down to this preſent Time, never laid aſide their Pretences, but thought they had Reaſon to believe that the Kingdom

A. D. 1501.

Pretenſions of the Kings of *Arragon* on *Naples*.

of

A. D. 1591. of *Naples*, being acquired at the Expence of the Blood and Treaſure of *Aragon*, it rightfully appertained to that Crown. Theſe Pretenſions had *Ferdinando*, with all the Subtilty and Patience of a *Spaniard*, kept in reſerve, and not only cultivated a good Underſtanding with *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, and his Succeſſors, by doing them all the kind Offices that are due and decent from near Relations one towards another, but alſo corroborated the former Ties of Blood by new Affinities. For he gave his Siſter *Giovanna* in Marriage to *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, and afterwards gave his Conſent that her Daughter ſhould be married to young *Ferdinando*; yet under all this Diſſimulation his covetous Ambition was for a long time no Secret to the *Neapolitan* Kings.

Kings of *France* and *Spain* agree on a Diviſion the Kingdom of *Naples*.

THE two Kings then concurring in their Inclinations and Projects, *Lewis*, willing to remove at once all Difficulties which might attend violent Meaſures, and *Ferdinando* ſeeking to gratify in ſome Meaſure the ambitious Deſire, he had long entertained, by the Acquiſition of Part of that Country,

Country, ſince he had as yet no Oppor- A. D. 1501.
tunity of ſeizing on the Whole, it was agreed that both of them ſhould attack the Kingdom of *Naples* at the ſame time, and, after conquering it, to divide the Land between them. By this Partition the King of *France* was to have the City of *Naples* with the whole *Terra di Lavoro*, and the Province of *Abruzzo*,* leaving to *Ferdinando* the Provinces of *Puglia* and *Calabria*; and each Prince was to conquer his own Share, without an Obligation from the other to aſſiſt him, but only not to hinder him; but above all particular Care was to be taken that this Convention ſhould be kept a Secret till the *French* Army, deſigned for that Service, ſhould be arrived at *Rome*; at which Time the Ambaſſadors of both Powers at that Court were to offer their Reaſons in Juſtification of this Convention, as that it was deſigned for the Safety and Benefit of Chriſtendom, and for the more effectual reſtraining and acting offenſively againſt the Infidels; that they ſhould jointly requeſt

* The Province of *Abruzzo* is divided into higher and lower *Abruzzo*, called, ſometimes, *The Abruzzi*.

A. D. 1501. queſt of his Holineſs their Inveſtitures, according to their reſpective Shares allotted them by this Convention; *Ferdinando* to be inveſted with the Title of Duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and the King of *France* with the Title, not of *Sicily* as heretofore, but with that of *Jeruſalem* and *Naples*. The Title of King of *Jeruſalem* was formerly obtained by *Frederick* II, a *Roman* Emperor and King of *Naples*, in Dowry with his Wife, Daughter of *Giovanni* titular King of *Jeruſalem*, and has been ever ſince aſſumed by the Kings of *Naples*, tho' at the ſame time the Kings of *Cyprus* of the Family of *Luſignana* have, on various Pretences, appropriated that Title to themſelves. So ready are Princes to aſſume Titles and Appellations, which may, when Opportunity ſerves, furniſh them with a colourable Pretence for turning the right Owner out of his lawful Poſſeſſions. In purſuance of this Convention between the two Kings, the King of *France* began to make open Preparations of War.

A. D. 1501.

IN the Beginning of this Year *Valentino* made an Attempt on the Suburb of *Faenza* by Night, with a great Number of ſcaling Ladders, truſting, as was ſuppoſed, to ſome Intelligence he held in that Place; but his Deſign miſcarried. After this he had no hopes of ſucceeding by Treachery, but having firſt taken *Ruſſi* and ſome other Towns in that Territory, he came with his Army early in the Spring before *Faenza*, and opened the Trenches on the Side of the Caſtle. A Breach being made, he ordered the *French* and *Spaniards* in his Pay to give the Aſſault promiſcuouſly, which they performed in ſo diſorderly a Manner, that they were forced to retire without Effect. But three Days after he ſtormed the Breaches with his whole Army, in the beginning of which *Vitellozzo* and the *Orſini*, followed by the choiceſt of their Troops, behaved with ſuch Courage and Order, and advanced ſo far within the Works, as gave Hopes that the Place would be carried. But the Valour of the Defendants was no leſs conſpicuous, and their Entrenchments

A. D. 1501. were very ſtrong, ſo that the Aſſailants having before their Eyes a vaſt Ditch, and their Flank expoſed to the Fire of a numerous Artillery, were conſtrained to retreat, with the Loſs of *Ferdinando da Farneſe*, and many others of Note, beſides a great Number wounded. But the *Faventines*, who had alſo ſuffered conſiderably in the Attack, began ſeriouſly to conſider that as they ſaw themſelves abandoned by all the World, it would be impoſſible to ſuſtain the Force of ſo great an Army, and what Deſtruction or intolerable Impoſitions they muſt expect, if the Place were taken by Storm, or conſtrained by the utmoſt Neceſſity to ſubmit to the Mercy of the Conqueror. By ſuch Reflections the Ardor of the Beſieged began to cool, and Fear ſucceeding in its Room had ſuch Influence, that after a few Days the City was ſurrendered to *Valentino*, on condition that the Inhabitants ſhould be ſafe in their Perſons and Effects, and that their Lord *Aſtorre* might have free Liberty to retire whither he pleaſed, enjoying the Revenues of his own proper Eſtate unmoleſted. Theſe Conditions *Valentino* punctually performed

formed as far as concerned the Inhabitants of *Faenza*; but *Aſtorre*, who was under Eighteen, and very beautiful, neither Youth nor Innocence had Power to protect from the Perfidy and Cruelty of the Conqueror, who, on Pretence of honouring his Court, retained him near his Perſon, and for a while treated him with all the Marks of Reſpect. But not long after the unhappy Victim was conducted to *Rome*, where after a certain Perſon, as the Report went, had firſt ſatiated his Luſt upon him, he was, together with his natural Brother, privately put to Death.

A. D. 1501.

Tragical Fate of *Aſtorre*.

VALENTINO having reduced *Faenza*, decamped and marched towards *Bologna*, having formed a Deſign not only to make himſelf Maſter of that City, but after that to haraſs and plague the *Florentines*, who were already much on the Decline, having given the *French* King freſh Cauſe for Diſcontent. For, diſtreſſed with the great Expences they had been at, and ſtill were labouring under, to maintain the War againſt *Piſa*, and what further Troops they thought neceſſary to ſecure themſelves a-

A. D. 1501. gainſt the Pope and *Valentino*, of whom they had a Jealouſy, they had neglected to pay the King, after all the Inſtances he made, the Remainder of the Sum lent them by the Duke of *Milan*; nor yet what he pretended was owing on account of the *Swiſs* who were ſent againſt *Piſa*, the Siege of which they quitted long before they had ſerved the time for which they had been paid in advance; the *Florentines* on this Account had refuſed, on their Departure to let them have an extraordinary pay that had been ſtipulated by the Cardinal of *Rouen*, at *Milan*, they ſhould receive on their Return; but the King deſirous of keeping this Nation in his Intereſt, had paid the Sum they demanded out of his own Coffers, and now with Acrimony inſiſted that the *Florentines* ſhould reimburſe him, without hearkening to any Excuſes they made, of their Inability of raiſing the Money. But this Affair was not duly attended to, on Account of the civil Broils, ariſing from the Diſorders in the popular Government, which had no Perſon of any Weight at the Head of their Affairs, and many of the principal Citizens were ſuſpected,

ted, either of being Friends to the *Medici*, or deſirous of another Form of Govern- A. D. 1501.
ment. Hence all Proceedings were carried on in a confuſed and diſorderly Manner, and not under the Regulation of wiſe Counſels, and ſober Reſolutions, and no Proviſion was made for ſatisfying the King's Demand, till the Term of Payment, which he had prolonged at their Requeſt, was expired. This Diſappointment put the King in a Rage, and now he not only inſiſted on the ſpeedy Payment of the Money, but on the Forces ſtipulated for the *Neapolitan* Expedition; for tho' they were not obliged by the Articles to furniſh theſe Auxiliaries before the Reduction of *Piſa*, yet he pretended to have done what in him lay to effect it, and that it was their own Fault that it had not been reduced. The King was exaſperated againſt the *Florentines*, either on account of the Money, of which he was naturally covetous, or provoked beyond Meaſure to find himſelf diſappointed of his Expectations; and perhaps he had perſuaded himſelf that through the Diſorders of the Government, and the Multitude of the Friends

A. D. 1501. of the *Medici*, he was not to expect much Advantage to his Affairs from his Alliance with their Republick. Wherefore thinking to obtain his Ends rather by rough than gentle Methods, where he found his Authority of ſo little Influence, he ſpoke publickly, in harſh Terms, to the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, who were near his Perſon, and told them, that he was no longer bound to their Protection; for ſince they had not fulfilled the Articles of the Treaty of *Milan*, but neglected the Payment of the Money at the Time appointed, according to Agreement, he was not obliged to obſerve that Treaty with regard to them. Wherefore when *Giuliano de' Medici*, at the Inſtigation of the Pope, was arrived at his Court, to ſupplicate his Majeſty in his own Name and that of his Brothers, to reſtore them to their Country, promiſing him a very large Sum of Money, he granted them an Audience in a very gracious Manner, and treated with him every Day about their Reſtoration.

Florentine Ambaſſadors roughly treated by the King of France.

VALENTINO, encouraged by theſe Menaces of the *French* Court, and ſtimulated

lated by *Vitellozzo* and the *Orſini*, who were his Officers, and great Enemies to the *Florentines*; the firſt for the Death of his Brother, and the others on Account of their Alliance with the Family of the *Medici*, had already ordered *Liverotto da Fermo* with One Hundred Light Horſe to the Aſſiſtance of the *Piſans*, and after the Conqueſt of *Faenza* deſigned to be more troubleſome to the *Florentines*; tho' neither himſelf nor his Father ever received any Injury from that People, but on the contrary many Favours and Benefits; for at their Requeſt they had renounced their Protection of the States of *Riarii*, to which they were engaged; and had conſented that the Duke's Army might be conſtantly ſupplied with Proviſions from the *Florentine* Dominions. *Valentino*, with this Reſolution, marched out of *Romagna* (of which Country, after the taking of *Faenza*, he had been declared Duke in full Conſiſtory, and received the Inveſtiture) and entered the *Bologneſe*, in mighty Expectations of becoming Maſter alſo of that State. But the ſame Day, as he was encamped at *Caſtel S. Piero*, a Town near A. D. 1501.

D. A. 1501. the Borders, between *Imola* and *Bologna*, he received the *French* King's Orders to lay aſide all Deſigns upon *Bologna*, and of expelling *Giovanni Bentivoglio* from that City, becauſe he had obliged himſelf to protect both his Perſon and the City. That as for thoſe Words in the Protection, *that it ſhould not injure the Rights of the Church*, they muſt be underſtood only of thoſe Rights and Prerogatives that the Church enjoys at preſent: That to underſtand theſe Terms indefinitely, and not according to the obvious Meaning, as the Pontiff would have it, would be meer trifling, and render his Protection of no ſort of Benefit to the *Bologneſe* and the *Bentivogli*. *Valentino* finding himſelf diſappointed, to the great Mortification of the Pontiff and himſelf, laid aſide all Hopes for the preſent, and, by Means of *Pagolo Orſino*, came to an Agreement with *Bentivoglio*, by which he was allowed a free Paſſage with his Army through the *Bologneſe*, and to be ſupplied with Proviſions in his March. *Bentivoglio* was to pay the Duke every Year Nine Thouſand Ducats, and ſupply him with a certain Number of Men at Arms, and of Foot,

Valentino agrees with *Bentivoglio.*

Foot, to be employ'd againſt *Tuſcany*. He was alſo to put the Duke in Poſſeſſion of *Caſtel Bologneſe*, a Town ſituated between *Imola* and *Faenza*, and under the Juriſdiction of *Bologna*; which Place was beſtowed on *Pagolo Orſino*. When a Peace was thus ſettled, *Bentivoglio*, either prompted by his over jealous Temper, or, as is generally believed, giving into the Artifices of *Valentino*, who, with a Deſign to make him odious to the Citizens, had told him as a Secret, that he had been invited to come with his Army before *Bologna* by the *Mariſcotti*, a Family powerful in Dependants and Partiſans, and on that Account, and for their Inſolence, become the Object of his Jealouſy and Hatred, cauſed almoſt the whole Family of them that were in the City to be murdered, in which he employ'd not only his Son *Herries*, but many of the young Noblemen as Inſtruments of his Cruelty, that the Memory of their having imbrued their Hands in the Blood of the *Mariſcotti* might forever render them Enemies to that Family, and make it their Intereſt to continue under his Adminiſtration. *A. D.* 1501.

THE

A. D. 1501.

THE *French* Troops kept no longer with *Valentino*, expecting to join the royal Army, which, to the Number of One Thouſand Lances and Ten Thouſand Foot, under *Aubigni*, was on its March for *Naples*. As for *Valentino*, he took his Way through the *Bologneſe*, towards the *Florentine* Dominions, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Thouſand Foot from *Bentivoglio*, commanded by the Protonotary his Son, and demanded of the *Florentines* a Paſſage through their Territories, with Supplies of Proviſions; but, without waiting for an Anſwer, he purſued his March, amuſing the Ambaſſadors from *Florence* with fair Words, till he had paſſed the *Apennines*. But after he was conducted as far as *Barbarino*, he changed his Style, and inſolently demanded that they ſhould enter into a Confederacy with him, and take him into their Pay with ſuch a Number of Men at Arms, and on ſuch Conditions as were ſuitable to his Rank and Dignity; and that they ſhould change their preſent Government, and conſtitute another in which

Motions of *Valentino*.

he

he could place more Confidence. He had the Aſſurance to make theſe Demands, not ſo much from a Reliance on his Power, for he had no great Army nor heavy Cannon, as on a Preſumption that the *Florentines* were but in a poor Condition, that they had but few Men at Arms, and no Infantry but Peaſants, who did Duty every Day; and that nothing but Fear, Diſtruſt and Diviſion reigned in *Florence*. Beſides, he had *Vitellozzo* and the *Orſini* with him in his Camp, and *Piero de' Medici* had, by his Orders, taken his Quarters at *Lojano* in the *Bologneſe*; add to all this that the People were poſſeſſed with a Notion that ſome powerful Men of the City had procured this March of the Duke, that they might have an Opportunity to alter the Government after their own Mind. A. D. 1501.

BUT *Valentino* had no Intention to reſtore *Piero de' Medici*, nor did he think it his Intereſt to aggrandize *Vitellozzo* and the *Orſini*, with whom he knew that if *Piero* ſhould return into his native Country, he would unite in the ſtricteſt Bonds of Friendſhip. And I have heard myſelf from

A. D. 1501. from Perſons of undoubted Credit, that he ſtill retained the Memory of an old Grudge he had conceived againſt him when his Father, before he was promoted to the Popedom, and then only Archbiſhop of *Pampalona*, ſtudied the Canon Law in the Univerſity of *Piſa*. He had Occaſion to take a Journey to *Florence*, on the Behalf of a Friend who was concerned in a criminal Caſe, where, after he had waited ſeveral Hours in Expectation of an Audience from *Piero*, who was detained either by Buſineſs or Pleaſure, he was at laſt obliged to retire, and returned to *Piſa* without ſpeaking with him, full of Indignation, as thinking himſelf highly affronted. However, out of Complaiſance to the *Vitelli* and *Orſini*, he ſmothered his Reſentment; but much more for the Sake of increaſing the Terrors and Diviſions among the *Florentines*, of which he intended to make his Advantage, by obtaining of them better Conditions, or an Opportunity of ſurpriſing ſome important Place of their Dominions. But as he was ſenſible that this Inſult of his offered to the *Florentines*, and

and his Approaching with an Army within Six Miles of their Walls, would by no means pleaſe the King of *France*, he entered into a Convention with them, in which it was ſtipulated, That there ſhould be a firm Alliance between the Republic of *Florence* and himſelf for the Defence of their reſpective Eſtates, by which they were prohibited to give the leaſt Aſſiſtance to the Rebels on either Side, particularly *Valentino* was obliged not to aſſiſt the Rebels of *Piſa*; the *Florentines* ſhould pardon all Offences and Miſdemeanors, by whomſoever committed on account of his Coming; nor ſhould make the leaſt Oppoſition to the Duke in Defence of the Lord of *Piombino*, who was under their Protection; the *Florentines* ſhould take the Duke into their Pay with Three Hundred Men at Arms, for Three Years, with a Salary of Thirty-ſix Thouſand Ducats yearly, which Force ſhould be ready to march to their Aſſiſtance, whatever Occaſion required, and act offenſively or defenſively.

A. D. 1501.

Treaty between *Valentino* and the *Florentines*.

THE Treaty being ſigned, *Valentino* de-

1501. decamped, and marched for *Signa*, making ſmall Journeys, and lodging ſome Days wherever he reſted, burning and plundering all the Way as if he had been in an Enemy's Country. His next Demands of the *Florentines* were that, according to the Cuſtom of Payments, they would advance a Quarter of a Year's Pay to the Men at Arms; and that they would furniſh him with a Train of Artillery to be employed againſt the Lord of *Piombino*. One of theſe Demands the *Florentines* abſolutely refuſed, becauſe they were no way obliged to grant it; the other was deferred, for they intended not to perform a Promiſe extorted from them by Force; and they were the more encouraged in this Reſolution by the Advices they had received from their Agent at the *French* Court, which gave them Hopes that they ſhould be delivered from this troubleſome Invader by the King's Authority. And their Expectations were not in vain; for tho' *Lewis* was not diſpleaſed at *Valentino's* uſing Threats, and quickening their Fears, he would by no Means countenance his open Acts of Hoſtility; for he either did not

not diſlike the preſent Government of *Florence*, or, if he was deſirous of another Form of Adminiſtration, he would be diſpleaſed to have it brought about by any other Means than by his own Power and Authority. When the King, therefore, had received Advice of *Valentino*'s entering into the *Florentine* Dominions, he ſent him Orders to quit the ſame without Delay; and, in caſe of Diſobedience, *Aubigni*, who was with an Army in *Lombardy*, was ordered to march with his whole Force, and drive him out. *A. D.* 1501.

VALENTINO then, without obtaining either the Quarter's Pay or the Artillery, directed his March towards *Piombino*, and ordered the *Piſans*, who had been encouraged by *Vitellozzo*, whom the Duke had ſent to *Piſa* for Artillery, to lay ſiege to *Ripomarancie*, a Caſtle of the *Florentines*, to draw off from the Place. Entering into the Territory of *Piombino*, he took Poſſeſſion of *Sugereto*, *Scarlino*, the Iſle of *Elba*, and *Pianoſa*, and leaving Garriſons in thoſe Places ſufficient to defend them, and to ſtraiten *Piombino*, he marched *Valentino* quits *Tuſcany*.

A. D. 1501. marched with the reſt of his Forces into the Territory of *Rome*, in order to attend the King's Army, which was on its March for *Naples*, part of the Troops having entered *Tuſcany* by the Way of *Caſtrocaro*, while the reſt took their Rout through the *Lunegiana*. The whole Force conſiſted of One Thouſand Lances, Four Thouſand *Swiſs*, and Six Thouſand *French* and *Gaſcon* Foot, with a great Train of Artillery, according to Cuſtom. And it was obſervable, that thoſe Troops which took their Way by the *Lunegiana*, paſſed through the City of *Piſa* in a friendly Manner, and with great Demonſtrations of Joy among the *French* as well as *Piſans*. About the ſame time ſailed from *Provence*, on the ſame Expedition, the Fleet under the Command of *Raveſtein*, Governor of *Genoa*, together with Three *Genoeſe* Carraches, and Sixteen other Ships, beſides a great Number of Tranſports.

French Preparations againſt *Naples*.

To reſiſt theſe mighty Preparations King *Federigo*, not knowing that the *Spaniſh* Armaments were, under a Show of

of Friendſhip and Protection, deſigned againſt himſelf, ſollicited *Gonſalvo Ferrando*, who was with the *Spaniſh* Armada in the Ports of *Sicily*, in order to be at Hand, as was pretended, for his Aſſiſtance, to ſail for *Gaeta*. *Federigo* had before delivered into his Hands ſome Towns in *Calabria*, which were demanded of him in order to facilitate the Acquiſition on the Part of the *Spaniards*, tho' pretended to be deſired only for the better Security of the Troops. The King was in Hopes that when *Gonſalvo* with his Army ſhould join his own Forces, which, with thoſe that were raiſing by the *Colonnas* at *Marino*, he expected would conſiſt of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred light Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot, he ſhould be ſtrong enough to meet the *French* in the Field, without being neceſſitated to ſtand upon the Defenſive, and to diſpoſe of his Troops in fortified Places, notwithſtanding that he had been diſappointed of the Succours which he expected, and had earneſtly ſollicited, from the *Turkiſh* Emperor; to whom he repreſented, that his Highneſs A. D. 1501.

A. D. 1501. had much more to apprehend from the Succeſs of the preſent *French* King than he had from that of the laſt. And to ſecure himſelf from Treachery, he ordered the Prince of *Biſignano*, and Count *Meleto*, who had been accuſed of holding private Correſpondence with Count *Gajazzo* in the *French* Army, to be taken into Cuſtody. After making theſe Diſpoſitions, he ſent his eldeſt Son *Ferdinando*, who was yet a Child, to *Taranto*, rather to provide for his Security, if any Misfortune ſhould happen, than for the Defence of that City, and entrenched himſelf with his Army at *St. Germano*, where he expected to be joined by the *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries, and the new Levies under the *Colonnas*, hoping to meet with better Succeſs in defending the Entrance into his Dominions, than his Nephew *Ferdinando* had againſt *Charles*.

ALL *Italy* was in the utmoſt Suſpenſe and Anxiety at the preſent Juncture, every one being apprehenſive that the Enterprize, ſo long meditated, and attempted muſt be attended with the greateſt Calamities

mities in the Execution. For the *French* Army did appear ſtrong enough to obtain an eaſy Victory over the united Forces of *Federigo* and *Gonſalvo*, and it was imagined that when once the Spirits of ſuch powerful Kings began to be irritated, and their Paſſions raiſed, they would continue the War with greater Forces and Fury, and at length involve all the States of *Italy*, on one Side or other, according to their different Inclinations, or their particular Quarrels. *A. D.* 1501.

BUT all theſe Reaſonings appeared to have no Foundation, and all Fears and Apprehenſions vaniſhed, as ſoon as the *French* Army entered the Territory of *Rome*; for the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors in conjunction repaired to the Conſiſtory, and notified to the Pope and Cardinals the League between their Sovereigns, and their Partition of the Kingdom of *Naples*, with an Intent, as they ſaid, of putting themſelves in a Condition of undertaking an Expedition againſt the Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, demand- Treaty of Partition publiſhed.

A. D. 1501. ing of his Holineſs the Inveſtiture according to the Tenor of the Treaty which they had made, which the Pope granted without Delay.

THE Event of this War was now no longer doubtful, and the Fears of the Public were converted into Wonder and Aſtoniſhment, But every one in general called in queſtion the Prudence of the *French* King, who, rather then ſuffer *Federigo* to rule the whole Kingdom as his Vaſſal and Tributary, as that Prince had by various Means endeavoured to obtain, choſe to let Half of it fall into the Hands of the King of *Spain*, and introduce into *Italy*, where he was before the ſole Arbiter, a King his Rival, under whoſe Shelter all his diſcontented Enemies might at any time find Protection, and who beſides was connected with the King of the *Romans* by the ſtricteſt Bonds of Alliance.

Cenſures of the Peace.

NOR did the Cenſure of the Public fall leſs heavy on *Ferdinando*, who was taxed with Inſincerity and Breach of Faith. It was Matter of Aſtoniſhment to all, that, from

from a greedy Deſire after one Part of a Kingdom, he ſhould enter into a Confederacy againſt a Prince of his own Blood, and, that he might the more eaſily accompliſh his Subverſion, ſtill flatter him with falſe Hopes of his Aſſiſtance; by which Proceedings he had eclipſed the Splendor of that glorious Title of Catholic King, which himſelf and Queen *Elizabeth* had a few Years before obtained of the Pontiff; and the Glory of thoſe noble Exploits, by which they had ſo highly raiſed their Reputation, when no leſs for the Honour of the true Religion, than for the Sake of their own Intereſt, they drove the Moors out of the Kingdom of *Granada*. A. D. 1501.

To theſe calumniating Reflections on the Conduct of the two Kings, no other Anſwer was made on the Part of *France*, but that the King had Power enough, when Time ſhould ſerve, to rectify all Diſorders. But in Behalf of *Ferdinando* it was pleaded, that tho' he had had juſt Reaſon to turn his Arms againſt *Federigo*, becauſe he well knew that he had long before carried on a private Negotiation with

King *Ferdinando*'s Conduct juſtified.

A. D. 1501. the King of *France* to his Prejudice, yet he ſat ſtill, and took no Notice. But when he underſtood that the King of *France* was reſolved at all Hazards to undertake an Expedition againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, he ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity, either of defending it or abandoning it: To take upon himſelf the Defence of it, would be to kindle up a War, which could not but be very prejudicial to *Chriſtendom*, eſpecially when the *Turks* with their powerful Forces were attacking the *Venetians* by Sea and Land: To abandon it, would be to expoſe his own Kingdom of *Sicily* to great Danger; and, ſetting that Conſideration aſide, it would be highly injurious to his Property for the *French* to become Maſters of *Naples*, which rightly belonged to himſelf, and to which his Title would receive additional Strength, and be unqueſtionable, in Caſe of Failure of the Line of *Federigo*. Wherefore in ſo difficult a Caſe he choſe the Method of Partition, in Hopes that, by the bad Government of the *French*, he might in a ſhort Time come in for the other Share; and in Caſe of ſuch an Event, as he conſulted

ſulted the public Good, which he had always regarded more than his private Intereſt, ſo he would either keep it to himſelf, or reſtore it to *Federigo*, or rather to his Children; for he could not deny that he had his Name in Abhorrence, becauſe he knew that, before the *French* King had taken *Milan*, he had treated with the *Turk*. A. D. 1501.

THE News of this Agreement between the two Kings aſtoniſhed *Federigo* beyond Meaſure; *Gonſalvo* pretended to diſregard what was publiſhed at *Rome*, and ſtill fed him with vain Promiſes that he would march to his Succour. *Federigo* however, changing his firſt Reſolution, decamped from St. *Germano*, and retired towards *Capua*, where he expected to be joined by the Troops which the *Colonnas* had levied by his Orders. The *Colonnas* leaving Garriſons in *Amelia* and *Roccadi Papa*, abandoned all the reſt of their Poſſeſſions in the Territory of *Rome*, becauſe the Pope, with the Conſent of the *French* King, had ſent a Body of Troops to ſeize on their Eſtates.

A. D. 1501. IN this perplexed State of Affairs *Gonſalvo* receiving Intelligence that the *French* Army had paſſed *Rome*, immediately publiſhed his Commiſſion, and ordered ſix Gallies for *Naples* to bring off the two old Queens, one the Siſter, the other the Niece of his King. *Federigo* was adviſed by *Proſpero Colonna* to ſtop thoſe Galleys, and with his whole united Strength to meet his Enemies in the Field, becauſe in trying his Fortune he had at leaſt a Chance of being victorious: For of all human Actions no Events are ſo uncertain as thoſe of Battles*. But in all other Methods it was moſt certain, that he had not Strength ſufficient to reſiſt two mighty Kings, attacking him in different Parts of his Kingdom. *Federigo* however conſidering this Advice as next to deſperate, reſolved to ſtand upon the Defenſive, and to garriſon his fortified Towns; and becauſe *St. Germano*, and all the neighbouring Places,

* We meet with the ſame Maxim in *Cicero*, in his Orations in Defence of *Milo*, and of *Marcellus*, and in his *Philip*; x. and xiii. in his Letters to *Torquatus*, *Atticus*, and others; in *Virg. Æneid.* x. *Ovid. Met.* vii. *Seneca*, and in many others.

Places, had revolted before *Aubigni* had marched out of *Rome*, he determined to make the firſt Stand at the City of *Capua*, where he placed a Gariſon of Three Hundred Men at Arms, ſome Light Horſe, and Three Thouſand Foot, under *Fabritio Colonna*, and *Rinuccio da Marciano*, whom he had lately taken into his Service; *Naples* he entruſted to the Care of *Proſpero Colonna*, and threw himſelf with the reſt of his Forces into *Averſa*. *Aubigni* in his March from *Rome* burnt *Marino*, *Cavi*, and ſome other Places belonging to the *Colonnas*, in Revenge for the Death of ſome Meſſengers, whom ſome Barons of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the *French* Intereſt, had ſent to contract with him, and whom *Fabritio* had cauſed to be murdered. That General proceeded next to *Montefortino*, where he expected that *Giulio Colonna* would have made ſome Reſiſtance; but *Giulio* ſhamefully abandoning the Place, *Aubigni* marched forwards, taking Poſſeſſion of all the Towns on the Road to *Capua* as far as the River *Vulturno*, which not being fordable near *Capua*, he marched higher up towards the Mountains

A. D. 1501.

Progreſs of the *French*.

A. D. 1501. Mountains where it was ſhallower. On Advice of *Aubigni*'s Progreſs *Federigo* retired to *Naples*, abandoning *Averſa*, which, together with *Nola*, and many other Places, ſubmitted to the *French*. The Brunt of the War now ſpent itſelf on *Capua*, which was attacked on both Sides of the River, on the upper Part, where the Stream begins to take its Courſe by the Town. After a briſk Battery from all Quarters, the Beſiegers gave a furious Aſſault, but were repulſed with great Slaughter. However tho' they did not ſucceed in their Attempt, the Beſieged had alſo ſuffered greatly, and thought themſelves ſo much expoſed, that both Officers and Soldiers began to think of ſurrendering the Place, and the more becauſe of the great Tumults and Commotions of the Citizens, and of the Peaſants, who in great Numbers had fled into the Town for Refuge. On the Eighth Day of the Siege, while *Fabritio Colonna* was parleying from a Baſtion with Count *Gajazzo* about ſurrendering the City on Articles, the Beſieged neglecting their Guard, as it often happens when a ſpeedy Accommodation is expected, the Enemy took

took the Opportunity to enter the Place, where, out of Greedineſs of Plunder, or in Revenge for the Loſs they had ſuſtained in the Aſſault, they made Havock of all, committing great Slaughter, and making Priſoners of thoſe who had eſcaped their firſt Fury. Women of all Ranks and Qualities, and even ſuch as were conſecrated to the Service of God, could not eſcape their horrid and impious Barbarity, but fell a Sacrifice to their Luſt or Avarice: Many of theſe poor Creatures were afterwards ſold at *Rome* for a very ſmall Price; and it is reported, that at *Capua* ſome of them, dreading Death leſs than the Loſs of their Honour, threw themſelves into Wells and Rivers. There was a Report alſo of another Piece of Villainy, worthy of eternal Infamy; a great Number of Women having eſcaped from the firſt Onſet, and fled for Refuge to a Tower, Duke *Valentino*. who had the Title of the King's Lieutenant, but accompanied the Army only with his Gentlemen and his own Guard, wanted to view them; and, after ſurveying them with the utmoſt Nicety, ſelected Forty of the moſt beautiful for his own

A. D. 1501.

Capua taken and ſacked.

A villainous Act.

A. D. 1501. own Uſe. There remained Priſoners *Fabritio Colonna*, Don *Ugo di Cardona*, and all the other Officers and Men of Note, among whom was *Rinuccio da Marciano*, who had been wounded on the Day they gave the Aſſault with a Croſs-bow Shot, and being committed to the Care of *Valentino*'s Attendants, dyed after two Days, not without Suſpicion of foul Play*.

THE Loſs of *Capua* deprived *Federigo* of all Hopes of further Defence, *Gaeta* ſurrendered without Delay, and at *Aubigni*'s Arrival at *Averſa*, *Federigo* abandoned the City of *Naples*, which immediately ſubmitted without Reſiſtance and agreed to pay Sixty Thouſand Ducats to the Conquerors, and retired into *Caſtel Nouvo*; and a few Days after agreed with *Aubigni* to ſurrender him all the Towns and Fortreſſes that were in his Poſſeſſion, and in that Part of the Kingdom which by the Diviſion belonged to the King of *France*, reſerving to himſelf only the Iſle of *Iſchia* for

Federigo treats with the French.

* We are told by *Giovio*, that the Death of *Rinuccio* was procured by *Vitellozzo*, who poiſoned his Wound, in Revenge of his Brother *Pagolo*, who was tortured and put to Death by thoſe of *Rinuccio*'s Faction.

for ſix Months, during which Time it might be lawful for him to go to what Place he pleaſed except, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to ſend One Hundred Men at Arms to *Taranto*; covenanting further that he might be at Liberty to carry out any Thing from *Caſtel Nuovo* and *Caſtel dell' Uovo*, except the Artillery left there by King *Charles*; that a full and free Pardon ſhould be granted for all Offences committed ſince the Time that King *Charles* made a Conqueſt of *Naples*; and that the Cardinals *Colonna* and of *Aragon* ſhould enjoy thoſe Benefices which they held in that Kingdom. And ſince we have Room to reflect: in this Caſtle of *Iſchia*, one might behold, a melancholy Spectacle indeed! all the unhappy Poſterity of old *Ferdinando* confined together. For beſides this *Federigo*, newly deprived of his Kingdom, and more ſollicitous for the Fate of his little Children and firſt-born Son confined within *Taranto*, than concerned for his own Misfortunes, there was in this Caſtle his Siſter *Beatrice*, who, after the Death of her Huſband *Matthias*, a very famous King

A. D. 1501.

A melancholy Reflection.

A. D. 1501. King of *Hungary*, had a Promiſe of Marriage from *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Bohemia*, with a View, by her Aſſiſtance, to obtain the Kingdom of *Hungary*; but after he had effected his Deſire, he ungratefully divorced her, and having a Diſpenſation from Pope *Alexander*, married another. There was alſo in this melancholy Company *Iſabella*, late Dutcheſs of *Milan*, no leſs unfortunate than the reſt, being almoſt at once deprived of her Huſband, Eſtate, and an only Son. It will not be, perhaps, improper in this Place to relate an uncommon Accident, and the more rare, as the Love of Children to their Father is become ſo rare in our Times. A Son of *Gilbert de Monpenſier* took a Journey to *Pozzuolo* to ſee his Father's Monument, when coming near it, he was ſeized with an exceſſive Grief, and being quite overcome, and pouring out a Flood of Tears, fell dead upon the Spot where his Father lay.

Memorable Inſtance of filial Piety

FEDERIGO being reſolved, out of an extreme Hatred to the King of *Spain*, to throw himſelf into the Arms of the King of

of *France*, ſent to demand of him a ſafe Conduct, and having obtained it, he left all his Friends and Relations in the Caſtle of *Iſchia*, where alſo remained *Proſpero* and *Fabritio Colonna*, who, on paying their Ranſom, had been ſet at Liberty by the *French*. The Government of the Iſland he left, as it was before, in the Hands of the Marquis *del Guaſto*, and the Counteſs of *Francavilla*, and ſent Part of his Military to reinforce the Garriſon of *Taranto*. This done, he embarked with Five light Galleys for *France*: In which he was certainly very ill adviſed; for had he took up his Reſidence in a free Place, he might, perhaps, in the War which afterwards happened between the two Kings, had an Opportunity to regain his Kingdom. But he choſe a more quiet Life, thinking it perhaps the beſt, and accepted of the King's Offer to live in *France*, his Majeſty beſtowing on him the Dutchy of *Anjou*, with a yearly Revenue of Thirty Thouſand Ducats; and in return he ſent Orders to the Governors of *Iſchia* to deliver it to the *French*, but they refuſed to obey him, and kept the Iſland

A. D. 1501.

A. D. 1501. Iſland a long Time afterwards, but under the Standard of *Federigo*.

In the mean time *Gonſalvo* had croſſed over to *Calabria*, where, though the Country choſe rather to be under the Dominion of the *French*, yet having no Means of Defence, all the Towns ſubmitted to him without Reſiſtance, except *Taranto* and *Manfredonia*. He firſt beſieged and took *Manfredonia* and its Cittadel, and then came with his Army before *Taranto*, where he was like to meet with greater Oppoſition. That Fortreſs, however, was at laſt ſurrendered upon Articles; for Count *Potenza*, who was appointed Guardian to the young Duke of *Calabria* by his Father, and *Leonardo* a *Neapolitan* Knight of *Rhodes*, the Governor of *Taranto*, finding they could defend the Place no longer, agreed to deliver up the City and Cittadel, if they were not relieved in Four Months, *Gonſalvo* taking a ſolemn Oath upon the holy Sacrament to ſet at Liberty the young Duke of *Calabria*, who had ſecret Orders from his Father to leave the Place, when he

he found himſelf incapable of reſiſting his ill Fortune, and to come to him in *France*. But neither the Fear of God, nor Regard to Reputation were of any Weight againſt Reaſons of State. For *Gonſalvo*, judging that ſuch Accidents might happen as to render it a Matter of great Importance to the King of *Spain*, to have the Perſon of the young Prince in his own Power, deſpiſing his Oath, would not permit him to go away, but, on the firſt Opportunity, ſent him well attended into *Spain*, where he was graciouſly received by the King, who kept him near his Perſon, and treated him in outward Appearance with all the Honour due to his royal Blood. *A. D.* 1501.

Duke of *Calabria* ſent into *Spain*.

All this time the Affairs of the Pontiff proceeded in the ſame proſperous Manner as uſual. He acquired, with all the Eaſe he could deſire, the whole Eſtates of the *Colonna* and *Savelli* Families in the *Campagna*, part of which he beſtowed on the *Orſini*; and *Valentino* carried on his Enterprize againſt *Piombino*, in which he employed *Vitellozzo*

Proceedings of the Pope and *Valentino*.

A. D. 1501. and *Gian Pagolo Baglioni* with new Levies. *Jacopo d' Appiano*, Lord of that Place, intimidated at their Approach, left a Garriſon in the Town and Cittadel, and went off by Sea into *France*, in order to try if he could prevail with the King, who had long before taken him into his Protection, that, out of regard to his own Honour, he would not ſuffer him to periſh. But the King, without excuſing his ſcandalous Breach of Faith, anſwered him very freely, that he had promiſed the Pope not to oppoſe him in his Undertakings, and that he could not do it without Injury to himſelf. In the mean time the Town of *Piombino*, by means of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, was ſurrendered to *Valentino*, and a few Days after the Cittadel. The Pope alſo married his Daughter *Lucretia* (who had already been Wife to Three Huſbands, and was now a Widow by the Death of *Giſmondo*, Prince of *Biſelli*, natural Son of *Alfonſo* late King of *Naples*, who was aſſaſſinated by *Valentino*) to *Alfonſo* eldeſt Son of *Ercole da Eſte*, with a Dowry of One Hundred Thouſand Ducats in ready Money, beſides

Pope marries his Daughter *Lucretia*.

ſides a Multitude of Preſents to a very great Value. To this Match, ſo unworthy of the Family of the *Eſti*, which uſed to contract Affinity with none but the moſt noble Families, *Ercole* and *Alfonſo* were induced to conſent, becauſe the King of *France*, who was willing to have every thing done for the Pope's Satisfaction, earneſtly inſiſted on it. And they were alſo inclined to it from a Deſire they had of ſecuring themſelves (if there could be any Security againſt ſuch perfidious Dealings) againſt the Arms and Ambition of *Valentino*, who abounding in Money, and ſtrengthened with the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, and the Favour of *France*, was now grown formidable to a great Part of *Italy*, who were ſenſible that his covetous Ambition knew no Bounds or Reſtraint. A. D. 1501.

AT the ſame time the King of *France*, with the greateſt Sollicitude, was negotiating a Peace with *Maximilian*, not only in hopes of getting free from Expences and Jealouſies, and of obtaining the long deſired Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Milan*,

A. D. 1501. but that he might alſo have an Opportunity to fall upon the *Venetians*, to which he was incited by knowing that his Succeſſes were diſagreeable to them, and he was perſuaded that they had ſecretly laboured to interrupt the Peace between him and *Cæſar*. But his principal Motive was his Deſire to recover *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda* out of the Hands of the *Venetians*, to which he was urged not only by his own Inclinations, but by the Sollicitations of the *Milaneſe*, tho' he had himſelf but very lately made a Conceſſion of them to the Republic. He had alſo an Eye on *Breſcia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*, formerly Members of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and wreſted from it by the *Venetians* in their War with *Filippo Maria Viſconte*. To manage theſe Matters more cloſely, and to make the neceſſary Proviſions for the Enterprize on *Naples*, he had long before diſpatched to *Milan* the Cardinal of *Rouen*, whoſe Word and Authority were equivalent to that of the King himſelf. The Cardinal had reſided there ſeveral Months, and ſpent his Time in treating with the King of the *Romans*, without

without effecting any thing, through the Fickleneſs of that Prince. During this Time alſo the *Florentines* endeavoured, by means of that Prelate, to be received anew under the royal Protection; but in vain, for the King propoſed very hard Conditions to them. And to ſhew that he was utterly averſe to a Reconciliation, he pretended that he was no longer obliged to perform the Treaty of *Milan*, and made over to the *Luccheſe*, who were anew received into his Protection, *Pietraſanta* and *Mutrone*, as Places by antient Right appertaining to *Lucca*; but the *Luccheſe* paid him, as Lord of *Genoa*, Twenty-four Thouſand Ducats, becauſe they had formerly, when they were in poſſeſſion of *Pietraſanta*, under a certain Exigency of the State, mortgaged the ſame, for the aforeſaid Sum, to the *Genoeſe*, from whom it was, by Force of Arms, taken by the *Florentines*. He treated alſo with the *Seneſe*, the *Luccheſe*, and the *Piſans* about their entering into a Confederacy for reſtoring the *Medici* to *Florence*, with a Deſign that the King ſhould receive a round Sum of Money of each State.

A. D. 1501.

Cardinal of *Rouen* negotiates with the *Italian* States.

A. D. 1501. But theſe Negotiations, tho' ſeemingly brought to a Concluſion, had not the deſired Effect, becauſe the Parties were not all ready to pay the Sums demanded.

Conference between *Maximilian* and the Cardinal of *Rouen.*

At laſt there came more hopeful Advices from the King of the *Romans*, on which the Cardinal ſet out for *Trento*, to meet his Majeſty, and hold a Conference. Here was a great deal of Talk about confirming the Marriage of the King of *France*'s Daughter *Claude* with *Charles* eldeſt Son of the Archduke, with the Conceſſion to them both of the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Milan*. They treated alſo of making War upon the *Venetians*, for Recovery of the Eſtates which each Party pretended had been uſurped from them by that People; and of calling a general Council for Reformation of the Church, not only, as they ſaid, in the Members, but in the Head; to which the King of the *Romans* pretended to give his Conſent, that he might give the Cardinal Hopes of obtaining the Popedom, to which he ardently aſpired; his King, for the Intereſt of his own Greatneſs

Greatneſs, as heartily deſiring it as himſelf. A. D. 1501.
The Cardinal permitted, that in the Article in which the King of *France*'s Dependants and Allies were included, that a Clauſe ſhould be inſerted, *Saving the Rights of the Empire*; by which *Maximilian* was empowered to examine into the Rights of any Perſon, either now nominated by the King, or before taken under his Protection. There only remained the principal Difficulty, which concerned the Inveſtiture, becauſe *Maximilian* refuſed to grant it to the male Children, if the King ſhould happen to have any. There was alſo ſome Diſpute about the Reſtoration of the Exiles of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which was demanded by *Cæſar* with great Earneſtneſs; but the King could not be brought to conſent to it, becauſe they were many in Number, and Perſons of great Intereſt and Authority; tho', being much preſſed, he did not refuſe to give Cardinal *Aſcanio* his Liberty, and gave ſome Hopes of granting the ſame to *Lodovico Sforza*, with a yearly Penſion of Twenty Thouſand Ducats, on which he might live comfortably in

1501. *France.* Theſe Difficulties having prevented the Agreement from being entirely ſettled, yet left Hopes of reducing Matters into a fairer Way of Accommodation; for which Reaſon the Truce was prolonged, and the Cardinal returned into *France*, not doubting but that all thoſe Matters of which he had been treating would be readily accompliſhed. And theſe Hopes were confirmed, when not long after the Archduke was under a Neceſſity of going into *Spain*, to receive of the People, in his own Perſon and that of *Giovanna* his Wife, eldeſt Daughter to the *Spaniſh* Sovereigns, the Oath appointed to be taken to thoſe deſtined to the Succeſſion. For taking his Journey with his Lady by Land, he had a Conference with the King at *Blois*, where he was received with the greateſt Honours, and the Parties were entirely agreed about the future Nuptials of their Children. *

Doge of *Venice* dies

IN this ſame Year died *Agoſtino Barbarigo*, Doge of *Venice*; his Government proved

* *Lewis* gave Fifteen Thouſand Ducats to M. *de Biſanzon*, the Archduke's Governor. *Buonaccorſi.*

proved very proſperous to the Republic, but he exerciſed it with ſo much Authority, that his Power, in many Inſtances, ſeemed to have exceeded that of his Predeceſſors; wherefore the Senate firſt abridged the Power of future Doges by new Laws, and then elected *Leonardo Loredano*. The Form of that Government is ſo excellent, that public Affairs ſuffered no Variation either by the Death of the laſt, or the Election of a new Prince. A. D. 1501.

THIS Year, contrary to the preceding Years, produced no conſiderable Actions between the Forces of the *Florentines* and *Piſans*. For the *Florentines*, being no longer under the Protection of the *French* King, and ſtanding in continual Awe of the Pope and *Valentino*, had more Attention to the Care of their own Property, than Inclination to diſturb the Peace of their Neighbours; and the *Piſans*, who were unable of themſelves to undertake any thing, had not been favoured with the Aſſiſtance of others, for none would make a Step in their Behalf, except it were State of the *Florentines* and *Piſans*

D. A. 1501. were to ſupport them when they were in the utmoſt Danger of ſinking.

1502. IN 1502 the Hoſtilities were renewed between the *Florentines* and *Piſans*; for the *Florentines* about the Beginning of this Year made a new Treaty with the King of *France*, having ſurmounted all Obſtacles more by Fortune than by the Favour of the King, or for any other Reaſons. It appeared that the King of the *Romans*, after he had parted from the Cardinal of *Rouen*, having formed new Schemes, refuſed to grant the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Milan* to the female Iſſue of the King, and had ſent Ambaſſadors into *Italy Hermes Sforza*, whom the King of *France* had ſet at Liberty at the Requeſt of the Queen of the *Romans* his Siſter, and the Preſident of *Briſſina*, to enter into a Treaty with the Pope and other Potentates about his Paſſage in order to receive the Imperial Crown. Theſe Ambaſſadors tarried ſome Days at *Florence*, where they obtained a Promiſe from the Republic of One Hundred Men at Arms, and Thirty Thouſand Ducats, to be in Readineſs whenever his Majeſty

Majeſty ſhould enter *Italy*. The King of *France* therefore ſuſpecting that the *Florentines*, deſpairing of his Friendſhip, might eſpouſe the Party of *Maximilian*, receded from his immoderate Demands, and offered more tolerable Conditions. The Subſtance of them was, That the King, on receiving them into his Protection, ſhould be bound, for Three Years next enſuing, to defend them with an armed Force, at his own Coſt, againſt any Power that ſhould, either directly or indirectly, attack them in the Dominions of which they were then in Poſſeſſion: That the *Florentines* ſhould be obliged, in the ſaid Space of Three Years, to pay each Year the third Part of One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Ducats: That all other Capitulations made between them, together with the Obligations depending on them, ſhould be null and void: That the *Florentines* ſhould be at Liberty to proceed by Force of Arms againſt the *Piſans*, and all other Invaders of their State.

A. D. 1502.

Treaty between the King of *France* and the *Florentines*.

THE *Florentines* reſuming new Spirits from

A. D. 1502. from this Alliance, took a Reſolution to lay waſte the Country about *Piſa*, and deſtroy all manner of Grain, in order to reduce the *Piſans* to their Obedience by length of Time, and by Famine, ſince Attempts to take their City by Force had proved unſucceſsful. This Method had been propoſed in the firſt Year of the Rebellion, by a wiſe Citizen, who repreſented it as a ſurer tho' longer Way, by which the *Piſans* might be diſtreſſed and waſted away, with leſs Expence, and leſs Danger. For in the preſent diſtracted State of *Italy*, if they ſaved their Money, they might procure themſelves Aſſiſtance on many Occaſions; but to attempt to force a Submiſſion would prove a difficult Taſk, becauſe *Piſa* had very ſtrong Walls, and was full of Inhabitants reſolutely determined to defend it; and if at any time it ſhould be in danger to be taken, all thoſe who would by no means have it ruined, who were many in Number, would be ſure to come to its Aſſiſtance; ſo that the Expence would be great, and the Hopes but ſmall, attended with much Labour, and certain Hazard.

Florentines proſecute the War againſt the *Piſans*.

Politic Advice of a *Florentine*.

This

This Advice was rejected in the Beginning as prejudicial, but confeſſed to be uſeful after a Courſe of ſeveral Years, in which, to obtain their Ends, they had expended a prodigious Sum of Money, and underwent infinite Labours and Hazards to no Effect. Having laid waſte the Country, in Hopes that out of regard to the King's Protection, none durſt give them any Diſturbance, they laid Siege to *Vico Piſano*, which Town had a few Days before been betrayed to the *Piſans* by ſome Soldiers of the Garriſon; when the Governor of the Caſtle, not waiting for the Succours, which would have arrived in a few Hours, very baſely gave up that Place. The *Florentines* expected a very eaſy Conqueſt, for they knew that the Garriſon had not Proviſions for above fifteen Days, and they were confident of preventing all Supplies, by Means of the Forts which they had erected on the Hills, and by poſſeſſing all the Paſſes in ſeveral Places. In the mean time receiving Intelligence that *Fracaſſa*, who had ſkulked poor and pennyleſs in the *Mantuan*, was on his March with a few Horſe, A. D. 1502.

A. D. 1502. Horſe, to throw himſelf into *Piſa*, in the Name, and with Letters of *Maximilian*, which ſeemed to have been ſent him out of Charity, they gave Directions for attacking him by the Way, which was done near *Barga*, and tho' he fled for Refuge to a Church near the Territory of *Ferrara*, he was taken from thence, and made a Priſoner. And theſe were the Steps and Motions of the Parties in *Tuſcany*, it not as yet appearing what Events, beyond human Foreſight, they were deſtined to produce.

BUT much greater and more dangerous Movements, which were to give Birth to more extraordinary Events, began to diſcover themſelves in the Kingdom of *Naples*, occaſioned by the Differences which the Year before aroſe between the *French* and *Spaniſh* Generals. The Source of their Diſſenſion was, that in the Diviſion made between the two Kings of that Kingdom, in which one King was to have the *Terra di Lavoro*, and the *Abruzzi* *, and the other *Puglia* and

* *Abruzzo* is divided into two Parts, and thence ſometimes called the *Abruzzi*, and ſometmies *Abruzzo*.

and *Calabria*, the Bounds and Limits of theſe Provinces were not clearly expreſſed. Hence both Parties laid Claim to the *Capitanato*, the Diſpute, ariſing from an Alteration in the antient Denomination of the Provinces made by *Alfonſo* of *Aragon*, the firſt King of *Naples* of that Name. That Prince, in order to facilitate the Levying of his Taxes, divided the whole Kingdom into ſix principal Provinces, that is to ſay, into *Terra di Lavoro*, *Principato*, *Baſilicato*, *Calabria*, *Puglia*, and the *Abruzzi*; of which *Puglia* was divided into three Parts, that is, into *Terra di Otranto*, *Terra di Bari*, and *Capitanato*. This *Capitanato* being contiguous to the *Abruzzi*, and divided from the reſt of *Puglia* by the River of *Lofanto*, antiently called *Aufido*, the *French*, having no Regard for the modern Denomination, but obſerving the antient Diviſion, pretended that the *Capitanato* either was not comprehended under any one of the four Provinces, or elſe that it was rather Part of the *Abruzzi* than of *Puglia*. The Contention was not ſo much upon account of the Importance of the

A. D. 1502. *French* and *Spaniards* contend about their Limits.

A. D. 1502. the Country in itſelf, as becauſe he that was not Maſter of the *Capitanato* had no Right to the Duty upon Wool, which makes a conſiderable Part of the Revenues of the Kingdom: And alſo becauſe the *Abruzzi* and *Terra di Lavoro* being deprived of the Corn that grows in the *Capitanato*, might, in a Time of Dearth, be reduced to great Extremities, whenever the *Spaniards* ſhould prohibit the Importation of Corn from *Puglia* and *Sicily* into theſe Provinces. On the contrary it was alledged, that the *Capitanato* could not belong to the *French*, becauſe the *Abruzzi* terminated in Mountains, and did not extend into the Plain; and becauſe in Differences about the Names and the Confines of a Country, one ought always to be directed by the preſent Uſage. In the laſt Year they agreed to divide the Duties into two equal Shares, but this Year each Party, not content with dividing, ſcrambled for what he could get. To theſe were afterwards added new Grievances and Contentions, which are reported to have been fomented more by the Will of the Commanders than

than by the Conſent of their Sovereigns. *A. D.* 1502.
For the *Spaniards* pretended that the *Principato* and *Baſilicata* were included in *Calabria*, which is divided into two Parts, the hither and further *Calabria*, that is, the upper and lower; and that *Valdibenevento*, poſſeſſed by the *French*, was a Part of *Puglia*, for which reaſon they ordered their Juſtices to hold their Court at *Tripalda* within Two Miles of *Avellino*, where the *French* Officers of Juſtice reſided.

THESE Beginnings of manifeſt Diſſention being Matters of great Concern to the Barons of the Kingdom, they interpoſed between *Gonſalvo Fernandes*, and *Lewis d' Ormignac*, Duke of *Nemours* the Viceroy of the King of *France*. In Compliance with their Deſires, *Lewis* being arrived at *Melfi*, and *Gonſalvo* at *Atella*, a Town belonging to the Prince of *Melfi*, after a Negotiation of ſome Months, in which the two Chiefs had a private Conference, no Means being found for effecting an Agreement between them, it was at laſt determined to wait the

A. D. 1502. Deciſion of their Kings, and in the mean time to make no Innovations. But the *French* Viceroy, preſuming on the great Superiority of his Forces, a few Days after publiſhed another Declaration, and denounced War in caſe *Gonſalvo* did not ſpeedily relinquiſh the *Capitanato*, and immediately after diſpatched ſome Troops to *Tripalda*. From this Incurſion, which was made the 19th Day of *June*, we may date the Beginning of this War, in the Proſecution of which the *French* began with making themſelves Maſters by force of the Towns held by the *Spaniards* in the *Capitanato*, and elſewhere. The King of *France* was ſo far from diſcountenancing theſe Proceedings, that, on the contrary, when he was informed that the King of *Spain* was reſolved not to make a Ceſſion of the *Capitanato*, he bent all his Thoughts to War. For this end he ordered Two Thouſand *Swiſs* to be tranſported by Sea to *Naples*, and took the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano*, and ſome others of the principal Barons, into his Pay. He then proceeded in Perſon to *Lions*, to be nearer at hand to make all the

War breaks out between the *French* and *Spaniards*.

the neceſſary Proviſions for the Conqueſt of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, to which, without being contented with the Places in Diſpute, it was manifeſt that he aſpired. He was determined alſo to paſs into *Italy*, if need required, which indeed he was obliged to do with all Speed, on account of ſome new Tumults in *Tuſcany*, excited by *Vitellozzo*, with the Knowledge of *Gian Pagolo Baglione* and the *Orſini*, and by the Advice and Authority principally of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who were all of them deſirous of the Return of *Piero de' Medici* into the State of *Florence*. *A. D.* 1502. Commotions in *Tuſcany*.

THE Original of theſe Diſorders was as follows: *Guglielmo de Pazzi*, the *Florentine* Commiſſary * at *Arezzo*, being informed that ſome of the Citizens had entered into a Conſpiracy with *Vitellozzo* to make that City rebel againſt the *Florentines*, would not believe that the Hearts of all the Citizens were corrupted, but perſuading himſelf that the Name and

* Governors of Towns in ſeveral States of *Italy* are called Commiſſaries.

A. D. 1502. Authority of the Republic were ſufficient to ſupply the Want of Forces, neglected to make the neceſſary Proviſions for ſeizing the Conſpirators, and ſuch as would make Reſiſtance, as he might have done in a ſhort Space of Time, but all on a ſudden committed to Priſon Two only who were privy to the Plot; on which the Populace, ſtirred up by the other Conſpirators, and by their common Hatred and Averſion to the *Florentine* Name, made a Riot, ſet at liberty the Two Priſoners, impriſoned the Commiſſary, and the other Officers of Juſtice, and, proclaiming the Name of Liberty through the whole City, broke out into open Rebellion. The Citadel only remained in the Hands of the *Florentines*, whither, at the Beginning of the Tumult, *Coſmo*, Biſhop of that City, and Son to the Commiſſary, fled for Refuge. After this the *Aretines* ſent with all Speed for *Vitellozzo*, who was diſpleaſed that the Plot had broke out before the Time appointed between him and the Conſpirators, becauſe he had not in Readineſs the Preparations that were deſigned to make Reſiſtance againſt the Forces of the

Arezzo revolts from the Florentines.

the *Florentines*, if, as it was very likely, they ſhould arrive, and attempt to enter the Town by the Citadel. Under this Apprehenſion, tho' he immediately repaired thither, with his own Company of Men at Arms, and a good Number of Foot, which he had drawn together out of *Citta di Caſtello*, and thoſe which *Gianpagolo Baglione* had ſent him from *Perugia*, and with the Money *Pandolfo Petrucci* had privately advanced, yet he did not think proper to continue there, but leaving ſome of his Troops in the Town, with Orders that they ſhould block up the Citadel very cloſely, to prevent all Communication with the City, he went back to *Citta di Caſtello*, with a Deſign, as he gave out, to return ſoon after much better provided. A. D. 1502.

BUT in *Florence*, thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it was to reſolve on Meaſures ſuited to the preſent Exigency, did not at firſt ſufficiently conſider of what Importance this Accident might prove. For when the principal Citizens, by whoſe Counſels the moſt important Affairs of the Republic were uſually directed, had adviſed

A. D. 1502. to order the Forces that lay at the Siege of *Vico Piſano*, to haſten with the utmoſt Speed to *Arezzo*, where they were too numerous to fear any Reſiſtance, if they had uſed Expedition, many of the ignorant Sort, who were in high Offices, with great Vehemency oppoſed it, pretending that it was a Matter of light Concern, and might be eaſily ſuppreſſed by the Forces that were in the other neighbouring Towns, aſſerting there was much greater Danger to be apprehended from thoſe who, out of Malignity to the preſent Government, wiſhed that *Vico Piſano* might not be taken, and ſo all Thoughts of recovering *Piſa* this Year laid aſide. By thus demurring, the March of the Troops was ſo long deferred, that *Vitellozzo* reſumed new Spirits from their Slowneſs, and increaſing his Forces returned to *Arezzo*, where he was afterwards reinforced by more Troops under *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, *Fabio* Son of *Pagolo Orſini*, and the Cardinal, and *Piero de' Medici*; and when they had received a Supply of Ammunition from *Siena* they began to batter the Citadel,

in

in which, according to the Cuſtom of many who are more intent on building new Fortreſſes, than careful to provide Neceſſaries for the Defence of thoſe that are already erected, there was a Want of Victuals, and of all other Things neceſſary for its Defence; and the Beſiegers drew a Line of Contravallation, to prevent all Succours. The Garriſon being in Want of all Neceſſaries, and knowing that the *Florentine* Army under *Hercole Bentivoglio*, which was advanced to *Quarata*, a Caſtle in the Neighbourhood of *Arezzo*, durſt proceed no further, deſpaired of Relief, and were forced to ſurrender on the 14th Day of the Rebellion, on Condition that the Beſieged might go free, except the Biſhop, and Eight more the *Aretines* ſhould chuſe, who were to remain Priſoners, to be exchanged for ſome of their Citizens who were impriſoned at *Florence*. This done, the Populace demoliſhed the Citadel, and the *Florentines* fearing that *Vitellozzo* and *Gian Pagolo*, who were now ſuperior to them in Force, would come and attack them, retired to *Montevarchi*, leaving the Enemy at Li-

A. D. 1502.

Citadel of *Arezzo* ſurrendered and demoliſhed.

A. D. 1502. berty to take all the Towns and Villages round about them.

By ſome it is believed that this Affair was conducted without the Participation of the Pope or *Valentino*, who would have been very ſorry for the Return of *Piero de' Medici* to *Florence*, on account of his Intimacy with *Vitellozzo* and the *Orſini*, whom they had ſecretly deſigned to oppreſs, tho' they had always endeavoured to make them believe the contrary, and conſented that *Vitellozzo*, *Gian Pagolo*, and *Fabio*, who were in their Pay, ſhould proſecute this Enterpriſe. And indeed it appeared, without Diſſimulation, that the News of the Rebellion of *Arezzo* was highly pleaſing to them; for they hoped to reap ſome Advantage from the Diſtreſſes of the *Florentines*, either by acquiring ſome Part of their Dominion, or by forcing them to hard Conditions, in ſubſerviency to their own Intereſt: But the *Florentines* could hardly believe but that the Duke and his Father were not the Authors of this Revolt, and were therefore under the greater Conſternation; and having

having but little Confidence in their own Strength, becauſe, by the bad Diſpoſition of the Citizens, they had but few Men at Arms, and were unable to provide themſelves ſo ſoon as the Suddeneſs of the Danger required, they had immediate Recourſe to the Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, repreſenting to him, how not only his Honour was concerned, as he had but juſt before taken them under his Protection, but alſo the Danger that threatened the Dutchy of *Milan*, if the Pope and *Valentino*, by whoſe Inſtigation there was no Doubt but theſe Commotions had been excited, ſhould be ſuffered to reduce the Affairs of *Tuſcany* under their own Management; that they had a powerful Force, and a flouriſhing Army, compoſed of choice Troops under experienced Officers; and that it manifeſtly appeared that *Romagna* and *Tuſcany* were not ſufficient to ſatisfy their infinite Ambition, but that they had propoſed to themſelves greater Matters, and formed Projects vaſt and boundleſs; and that ſince they had already offended the Honour of the King, by attacking thoſe who were under his Protection,

A. D. 1502.

Florentines crave Aſſiſtance of the *French* King.

A. D. 1502. tion, they were now under a Neceſſity to think no leſs on the Means for their own Security, than on depriving him of the Power to avenge himſelf of them for ſo great an Injury.

THESE Reaſons greatly moved the King, who had already begun to diſlike the Inſolence and Ambition of the Pope and his Son; and conſidering that the War was begun in the Kingdom of *Naples* between himſelf and the King of *Spain*, that the Negotiations of Peace with *Maximilian* were interrupted, and that for many Reaſons he could not confide in the *Venetians*, he began to doubt that the Inſult on *Tuſcany* was ſecretly deſigned to pave the Way for ſome greater Enterprize againſt himſelf. And he was confirmed in this Conjecture by the Letters of *Charles d' Amboiſe* Lord of *Chaumont*, Nephew of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, and Lieutenant of the Dutchy of *Milan*, who, ſuſpecting this new Step, adviſed his Majeſty by all means to provide for the Safety of his own Dominions; on which the King reſolved to haſten his Journey into *Italy*, and to loſe no Time

in

in ſupporting the Cauſe of the *Florentines*, he ordered the ſame Monſ. *Chaumont* to ſend with all Speed Four Hundred Lances to their Succour, and poſted away his Herald *Normandy* with poſitive Orders, not only to *Vitellozzo*, *Gian Pagolo*, *Pandolfo*, and the *Orſini*, but to Duke *Valentino* himſelf, to deſiſt from all Hoſtilities againſt the *Florentines*. At the ſame Time he made earneſt Repreſentations to the Pope's Nuncio, and uſed very high and threatening Language to *Giuliano de' Medici*, and to the Agents of *Pandolfo* and *Vitellozzo*, who were in his Court. *A. D.* 1502.

King of *France* eſpouſes the Cauſe of the *Florentines*.

In the mean time *Valentino*, after the Affair of *Arezzo*, had marched his Army out of *Rome*, under Pretence of laying Siege to *Camerino*, whither he had before detached the Duke of *Gravina* and *Liverotto da Fermo*, with Part of his Troops, to ravage the Country, and inveſt the Place; but his real Deſign was to ſurpriſe the Dutchy of *Urbino*. For this End, having aſſembled the reſt of his Army on the Borders of *Pergia*, he demanded of *Guidobaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*, ſome Artillery

A. D. 1502. lery and Troops, which was readily granted, for it was not ſafe to deny a Prince who had an Army ſo near, and, having before compounded ſome Differences with the Pope, about Tribute, he had no Occaſion to be afraid. *Valentino* having thus rendered the Duke leſs capable of making any Defence, he ſuddenly decamped from *Nocera*, and marching with incredible Speed, without giving his Soldiers Leiſure to refreſh themſelves by the Way, he arrived the ſame Day at *Cagli*, a City of the Dutchy of *Urbino*. His ſudden Coming, and taking them unprovided, ſpread ſo great a Conſternation in every one, that the Duke * with *Franceſco Maria dalla Rovere*, Prefect of *Rome*, his Nephew, had ſcarce Time to ſave themſelves by Flight; ſo that in a few Hours the whole Dutchy of *Urbino*, except the Caſtles of *San Leo* and *Majuolo*, fell into the Hands of *Valentino*, to the great Mortification and Terror

Valentino acquires the Dutchy of *Urbino* by Surprize.

* The Duke of *Urbino* avoided falling into the Hands of *Valentino*, by diſguiſing himſelf like a Peaſant, and mounting on a Peaſant's Horſe, by which he eſcaped firſt to *Ravenna*, and afterwards to *Mantua*. *Bembo*. The Prefect his Nephew got ſafe to *Aſti*, to the Cardinal of *St. Piero Vincola*, his Grandfather. *Buonac*.

Terror of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, *Vitellozzo*, and the *Orſini*, who began clearly to diſcern their own Danger in the Duke's Fate. *A. D.* 1502.

VALENTINO, after the Conqueſt of this Dutchy, deliberated with himſelf, whether it were beſt to employ his Forces in finiſhing the Enterprize upon *Camerino*, or making an open Attack upon the *Florentines*, to which he was heartily inclined, if he had not been reſtrained by the King's Command, and been aſſured that whatever the Pope could do to diſſuade his Majeſty from oppoſing ſuch a Step, he had yet ordered his Men at Arms to march in Favour of the *Florentines*, and was fully diſpoſed to defend them, and, what was ſtill a greater Check on the Duke, was ready to go in Perſon into *Italy*.

IN this State of Uncertainty *Valentino* took up his Quarters in *Urbino*, that he might take Advice, and regulate his Meaſures from every Day's ſucceſſive Occurrences, treating at the ſame time, by the Pontiff, and by himſelf, with the *Florentines*

A. D. 1502. *tines* about different Matters, in Hopes to induce them to comply in ſome meaſure with his Deſires, while on the other hand he permitted his Soldiers continually to repair to the Camp of *Vitellozzo*. This Commander having aſſembled Eight Hundred Horſe and Three Thouſand Foot, and to add the greater Reputation to his Proceedings, calling his Army *the Eccleſiaſtic Army*, after he had reduced the Cittadel of *Arezzo*, made himſelf Maſter of *Monte a St. Sovino*, *Caſtiglione*, *Aretino*, and the City of *Cortona*, together with all the other Towns and Caſtles of *Valdichiana*, not one of them offering Reſiſtance, becauſe they ſaw the *Florentine* Succours were not in Readineſs, and it being the Time of Harveſt they were not willing to loſe their Profits; beſides they did not imagine themſelves in Rebellion againſt the State of *Florence* on this Account, becauſe they ſaw in the Army *Piero de' Medici*, for whoſe Reſtoration it was publickly declared the Enterprize was undertaken. And it is not to be doubted but that if, after the Acquiſition of *Cortona*, *Vitellozzo* had ſpeedily led his Army into the *Caſentino*, it would

Warlike Proceedings of *Vitellozzo*

would have been in his Power to march up to the very Walls of *Florence*, the *French* Succours not being yet arrived, and the greater Part of the *Florentine* Infantry diſperſed, becauſe almoſt all of them belonging to the Towns that were loſt were returned to their own Houſes. But the Deſire of acquiring to himſelf *Borgo St. Sepolcro*, a Town not far from *Citta di Caſtello*, tho' he excuſed it by ſaying it was not good to leave an Enemy's Town behind one's Back, left no Room for better Advice, and ſo he advanced to *Anghiari*, which Town, tho' the only Place that had Reſolution enough to put the Enemy to the Trouble of raiſing a Battery, was too weak on all Accounts to make any Defence, and was obliged, with ſome Soldiers that were in it, to ſurrender at Diſcretion. After the Conqueſt of *Anghiari*, *Borgo St. Sepolcro* immediately capitulated; and from thence the General returned towards the *Caſentino*, and being come as far as the Village of *Raſſina*, he ſent a Trumpet to demand the Town of *Poppi*, which, tho' ſtrong by Situation, had but a ſmall Garriſon. But the Reputation

A. D. 1502.

He takes *Anghiari* and other Places.

A. D. 1502. putation of the *French* Arms had ſuch Effect as to ſupply their Want of Force. For the Two Hundred Lances under Captain *Imbault* being arrived near *Florence*, and not daring, for want of Infantry, to face the Enemy, were marched to *St. Giovanni* in *Valdarno*, with an Intention to join the reſt of the Forces expected in that Place. But *Vitellozzo*, as ſoon as he had received Intelligence of their Motion towards *Valdarno*, apprehending that *Arezzo* might be endangered by his Abſence, retired in all Haſte from *Vernia* to the Hills of *Ciciliano*, about two Miles from *Quarata*, from whence he afterwards ventured three Miles further, to brave the Enemy, and to ſecure *Rondine* and other circumjacent Places, ſtrongly entrenching himſelf near *Rondine*, after leaving ſome of his Foot to guard *Gargonſa* and *Civitella*, two Paſſes by which the *Florentines* muſt enter the Country. In the mean time arrived Two Hundred more *French* Lances, under Captain *L'anire*. The *Florentines* drew up between *Montevarchi* and *Laterino*, with an Intent to entrench themſelves on an Eminence near the

the Camp of *Vitellozzo*, as ſoon as they could get together Three Thouſand Foot, in which Circumſtance it would be impoſſible for him to continue where he was, or decamp without the utmoſt Danger, and therefore he retired under the Walls of *Arezzo*. But the *French* having drawn out their whole Force into the Plain, and poſted themſelves before *Quarata*, he drew his Troops into the Town. And tho' he had always boaſted that he would defend the Place to the laſt Extremity, yet the Face of Affairs was now ſo altered, that he was obliged to change his Reſolution. For *Gian Pagolo Baglione* was retired into *Perugia* with his Troops, being taught by the Example of the Duke of *Urbino* to provide for his own Safety: That Duke's narrow Eſcape, and the ſad Fate of the Lord of *Camerino* which ſucceeded it, very much diſturbed the Minds of *Vitellozzo*, *Pandolfo Petrucci*, and the *Orſini*. For *Valentino*, while he was treating of an Agreement with *Giulio da Varano*, Lord of *Camerino*, craftily took Poſſeſſion of his City, and having got the Lord and his two Sons in his

A. D. 1502.

Vitellozzo retires to *Arezzo*.

Valentino's Cruelty.

A. D. 1502. Power, cauſed them, with the ſame Barbarity as he had ſerved others, to be ſtrangled.

But what gave *Vitellozzo* more Concern, was that the King of *France* was arrived at *Aſti*, and had ordered *Lewis de la Tremouille* with Two Hundred Lances and a great Train of Artillery to *Tuſcany*, and that he was already arrived at *Parma*, expecting Three Thouſand *Swiſs*, which the King had appointed for the Recovery of *Arezzo* at the Charge of the *Florentines*. For he was highly incenſed againſt the Pope, and had it in his Thoughts to deprive *Valentino* of *Romagna* and the other Eſtates he had ſeized. And in this Diſpoſition he invited to his Court all thoſe who were either afraid of his Power, or had received Injuries from him, and declared he would go in Perſon, proteſting publickly, with great Vehemence, that it was a holy and pious Undertaking, even no leſs holy and pious than an Expedition againſt the *Turks*. At the ſame time he deſigned to expel *Pandolfo Petrucci* from *Siena*, becauſe he had aſſiſted *Lodovico Sforza* with

Pope and *Valentino* fallen under the *French* King's Diſpleaſure.

with Money at his Return to *Milan*, and ever ſince that had made open Profeſſion of his Adherence to *Cæſar*. A. D. 1502.

BUT the Pontiff and *Valentino* knowing themſelves unable to ſtand ſo great a Storm, had recourſe to their uſual Arts, pretending that the Commotions in *Arezzo* were excited by *Vitellozzo* without their Knowledge; that they were not of ſufficient Authority to reſtrain him, and that they could not prevent the *Orſini* and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, then in their Pay, from aſſiſting him out of Self-intereſt. And the more to mitigate the King's Diſpleaſure, *Valentino* ſent a threatening Meſſage to *Vitellozzo*, that if he did not forthwith abandon *Arezzo* and the other Towns of the *Florentines*, he would march with his Army againſt him. *Vitellozzo* terrified at this, and fearing, as it generally happens when ſtronger Powers are reconciled, that the Wrath of the King ſhould diſcharge itſelf upon him, as the weaker, invited *Imbault* into *Arezzo*, contrary to the Will of the *Florentines*, who expected that the Towns which they had loſt would

A. D. 1502. be freely reſtored to themſelves. It was agreed that *Vitellozzo* ſhould withdraw his Troops without Delay, and yield up *Arezzo* and the other Towns into the Hands of the *French* Generals, to be kept by them in the Name of the King, till ſuch time as Cardinal *Orſini*, who was on the Point of ſetting out, ſhould inform his Majeſty of what had paſſed; and that in the mean time there ſhould enter into *Arezzo* no more than one *French* Captain with Forty Horſe, for Security of whom, and for the Performance of the Engagement, *Vitellozzo* ſhould deliver to *Imbault* two of his Nephews as Hoſtages. But *Vitellozzo*, as ſoon as the Agreement was made, marched out of *Arezzo* with all the Troops and Artillery, leaving the Place, together with all the other Towns which he had evacuated, in the Hands of the *French*, who by the King's Commiſſion without Delay reſtored them to the *Florentines*. This verified what M. *Imbault* had ſaid, with a Scoff, in his Anſwer to the Complaints of the *Florentines*, while they were treating about the Delivery of the Places; That he could not underſtand

Arezzo, delivered to the *French*.

wherein

wherein the Wit of the *Florentines*, ſo celebrated for their Acuteneſs, conſiſted, ſince they were ſo dull as not to be ſenſible that, in order to ſecure themſelves a ſpeedy, eaſy, and cheap Victory, and to avoid thoſe Diſorders which might ariſe from the natural Temper of the *French* when they wanted Proviſions or from any other Cauſe, they ſhould have choſen at any Rate, without boggling as they had done to have *Arezzo* put in the Hands of the King, who was not obliged to fulfil any Agreement his Generals had made with *Vitellozzo* any farther than he thought fit.

A. D. 1501.

Imbault's Saying of the *Florentines*.

THE *Florentines* being thus delivered from ſo troubleſome and unexpected an Attack, and with ſo much Eaſe, tho' not without a large Expence, employed all their Thoughts and Care on ſetting the Government of the Republic upon a better Footing, ſince it was manifeſt by Experience, even to the Vulgar, that it was owing to the Confuſion and Diſorders in the Adminiſtration, that the Republic had been lately in ſo much Danger. For

A. D. 1502. by the frequent Changes of Magiſtrates, and the Jealouſy which the People had conceived at the name of a Few at the Helm, there was no Perſon, either public or private that conſtantly employed his Time in the Service of the Government. And as the City in general abhorred a Tyranny, and the Commonalty were jealous of the Authority of the Nobleſs, and therefore it would be impracticable by one and the ſame Reſolution to ſettle a perfect Form of Government, Reaſons having no Force on Perſons incapable of receiving them, it was reſolved for the preſent to introduce only one Alteration: This was, that the Gonfaloniere of Juſtice, who was at the Head of the ſupreme Magiſtracy, and together with it created every Two Months, ſhould for the future be choſen for Life, that he might have nothing elſe to do but to employ his Care and Attention on what concerned the Government, and to conſult the Good of the Public, that it might no more be ſubject to ſo dangerous a Situation through Neglect. And it was hoped that the Authority with which his Perſon was inveſted by Virtue of his Office,

Florentines alter their Form of Government

Office, together with his Eſtabliſhment in that high Station, might procure him ſo great a Meaſure of Truſt and Confidence in the Minds of the People, as would enable him, Time after Time, to work a Reformation in other Parts of the Government; and by advancing Citizens of the beſt Quality and Conduct to ſome Degree of Honour above the reſt, conſtitute a Medium between himſelf and the Commonalty; which by managing the Ignorance and Licentiouſneſs of the Multitude on one hand, and reſtraining the Power of his Succeſſors, if they ſhould arrogate too much to themſelves on the other, might be the Means of eſtabliſhing a prudent and honourable Adminiſtration, and conſequently of promoting Peace and Concord in the whole City. After this Reſolution, in a full Aſſembly, and with one Conſent, was elected Gonfaloniere, *Piero Soderini*, a Man of mature Age, of a competent Eſtate, and noble Birth, of an unblemiſhed Character, and chaſte. He had been much employed in Affairs of State, and having no Children, which was a Point

A. D. 1502.

D. A. 1502. to be regarded, had no Temptation to ambitious Views for aggrandizing his Family.

King of *France* complimented by the *Italians.*

BUT to reſume our Account of general Affairs, the King of *France* was no ſooner arrived at *Aſti*, than he was addreſſed, as uſual, by all the Princes and free Cities of *Italy*, either in Perſon, or by their Ambaſſadors. Among them was the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantoua*, tho' this latter was not truſted, nor acceptable. There went alſo Cardinal *Battiſta Orſini*, againſt the Pope's Conſent, to vindicate his Relations and *Vitellozzo*, concerning the Affair of *Arezzo*, and to incenſe the King againſt the Pope and *Valentino*, upon whom all *Italy* was in the higheſt Hopes and Expectations that his Majeſty, in purſuance of his firſt Reſentment ſo warmly expreſſed, would turn his Arms. But Experience ſhews, that very rarely any thing comes to paſs that is expected by the Multitude. The Reaſon is, that the Effects of human Actions commonly depending on the Will of a Few, and the

In-

Intentions and Ends of thoſe Few almoſt conſtantly different from thoſe of the Many, it very ſeldom happens that Things ſucceed otherwiſe than according to the Intention of thoſe who firſt ſet them in Motion. Thus it fell out in the preſent Caſe, where Intereſt and private Ends induced the King to take a Reſolution contrary to the univerſal Deſire of the People. But his Majeſty was not ſo much moved by the Aſſiduities of the Pope, who never ceaſed ſending, one after another, Perſons beſt qualified to ſoften his Spirit, and mitigate his Reſentment, as by the Counſels of the Cardinal of *Roüen*, who was deſirous, as he always had been, to preſerve a good Underſtanding between the Pope and the King, to which he was induced, perhaps in part by private Intereſt, as well as by a Regard to the King's Advantage. For his Holineſs prolonged his Legateſhip of *France* for Eighteen Months; and as he was ſollicitouſly attentive on laying a Foundation for his Aſcending to the Popedom, he endeavoured to obtain of the Pope a Promotion of his Kindred and Dependants

A. D. 1502.

Cardinal of *Roüen* Advocate for the Pope.

to

A. D. 1502. to the Cardinalſhip; and he was of Opinion that it might be of ſome Service to him for attaining his Ends, to have the Name of the Lover and Protector of the Eccleſiaſtical State.

THE Circumſtances of the preſent Times concurred to induce the King more eaſily to abate his Reſentment, for he had taken ſome Umbrage at *Maximilian*, who, ever reſtleſs, had lately ſent a good Body of Horſe, with ſome Infantry, to *Trento*; and had made large Offers to the Pope for obtaining his Aſſiſtance in his Paſſage into *Italy*, in order to receive the Imperial Crown. And every Motion he made that way deſerved the more Attention, as the King knew he was obnoxious to the *Venetians*, becauſe he was in poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*. Beſides, he was at variance with Four Cantons of the *Swiſs*, who demanded the Ceſſion of the Territory of *Bellinzone*, and more than that, a Grant alſo of the Vale of *Valtellina* and *Scafuſa*, with other unreaſonable Demands, threatening otherwiſe

wiſe to make a League with *Maximilian*. A. D. 1502. Theſe Difficulties were aggravated by conſidering; that the King was now out of all Hopes of a Compoſition with the King of *Spain*: For tho' *Ferdinando* had propoſed the Reſtoration of *Federigo* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and for that Purpoſe *Lewis* had conducted that Prince with him into *Italy*, and they had been negotiating a Truce for a certain Time, each Party keeping what he had in poſſeſſion, yet either Expedient was attended with ſuch Obſtacles, that the King of *France*, full of Indignation, diſmiſſed the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors from his Court.

Pope reconciled to the King of *France*.

In this ſeaſonable Juncture the Pope diſpatched unto the King *Troccies*, his Chamberlain and great Confident, and promiſing for himſelf and *Valentino* to aſſiſt the *French* in the *Neapolitan* War to the utmoſt of their Power, diſpoſed his Majeſty to continue in Friendſhip with his Holineſs. And therefore as ſoon as *Troccies* was returned to *Rome*, and had made his Report, *Valentino* ſecretly took Horſe and rode poſt to *Milan*, where the King

was

A. D. 1502. was arrived, by whom, contrary to all Expectation, and very much to the Diſſatisfaction of every Body, he was received with exceſſive Honours and Careſſes. As there was therefore no Occaſion for the *French* Troops to remain in *Tuſcany*, the King recalled them into *Lombardy*, firſt receiving under his Protection the *Seneſe* and *Pandolfo Petrucci*, on Condition of their paying Forty Thouſand Ducats, part in hand, and part at a Time prefixed.

MAXIMILIAN after a ſhort time began to grow cool in his Motions, and his Projects to evaporate, ſo that *Lewis* had little elſe to mind but the Affairs of *Naples*, which ſeemed hitherto to go on proſperouſly, and were like to proceed with ſtill greater Succeſs, ſince the King, as ſoon as he came into *Italy*, had given Orders for tranſporting thither by Sea Two Thouſand *Swiſs*, and above Two Thouſand *Gaſcons*. The Viceroy, who had before reduced all the *Capitanato*, except *Manfredonia* and *St. Angelo*, being joined by this Reinforcement, laid Siege to

to *Canoſa*, where was a Garriſon of Six Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, commanded by *Pietro Navarra*, who after a brave Defence for many Days, being ordered by *Gonſalvo*, who was willing to ſave ſuch fine Troops, not to hold out to Extremity, ſurrendered the Town to the *French*, on Condition that the Beſieged ſhould be ſafe in their Perſons and Effects. This Conqueſt made the *French* Maſters of all *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and the *Capitanato*, except the above Places, with *Barletta*, *Andria*, *Gallipoli*, *Taranto*, *Caſenza*, *Ghierace*, *Seminara*, and a few Towns on the Sea Coaſt. *Gonſalvo* therefore, finding himſelf much inferior to the Enemy, retreated with his Army, and ſhut himſelf up within the Walls of *Barletta*, without Money, with a ſmall Stock of Proviſion, and in want of Ammunition. But this laſt Defect was in ſome meaſure ſupplied by the tacit Conſent of the *Venetian* Senate, who did not prohibit the buying up of large Quantities of Saltpetre in *Venice*; and when the King of *France* complained of it, they anſwered, that it was done by private Merchants without their

A. D. 1502.

Canoſa taken by the *French*

A. D. 1502. their Knowledge; and that in a free City like *Venice*, none was ever forbidden to buy and ſell, or traffick in whatever he pleaſed.

AFTER the taking of *Canoſa*, the *French* Generals conſidering that for many Reaſons, but eſpecially for want of Water, it was by no means adviſable to entrench themſelves with the whole Army about *Barletta*, reſolved, tho', as many affirm, contrary to the Advice and Proteſtations of *Aubigni*, that the Army, which, as reported, amounted to the Number of Twelve Hundred Lances and Ten Thouſand Foot, *Italians* and *Ultramontanes*, ſhould be divided, and while one Part remained before *Barletta*, to block up that Place, the reſt ſhould be employed in reducing the other Towns of the Kingdom; a Reſolution, as is generally believed, which, added to the Negligence of the *French*, proved very detrimental to their Affairs. In purſuance of what had been reſolved, the Viceroy made himſelf Maſter of all *Puglia*, except *Taranto*, *Otranto*, and *Gallipoli*; after which

Fatal Reſolution of the *French*

which Succeſs, he returned to the Siege of *Barletta*. At the ſame time *Aubigni* entered *Calabria* with the other part of the Army, where he took and plundered the City of *Coſenza*, the Caſtle remaining in the Power of the *Spaniards*. After this he gave Battle to the *Spaniards* in that Province, reinforced with others from *Sicily*, and defeated them. So many fortunate Events, which either happened all, or were in a Courſe of Succeſſion, while the King was in *Italy*, not only made him the more negligent of continuing to ſend freſh Supplies, to which if he had been duly attentive, he might eaſily have chaſed his Enemies out of the whole Kingdom, but alſo removed every Objection that might be raiſed againſt his Return to *France*, and ſo much the more, as he hoped to make, as he did ſoon after, a long Truce with the King of the *Romans*.

A. D. 1502.

French rout the Spaniards

AT the King's Departure out of *Italy*, to the great Amazement of all the World, began to come to light what he had been treating with *Valentino*, whom, admitting his

A. D. 1502. his Juſtification of himſelf in the Affair of *Arezzo*, he had not only received into Favour, but alſo, on the Promiſe and ſolemn Aſſurances of the Pope and the Duke to aſſiſt him, when there ſhould be Occaſion, in his Wars in the Kingdom of *Naples*, had reciprocally engaged to aſſiſt him with Three Hundred Lances for the Conqueſt of *Bologna* in the Name of the Church, and for oppreſſing *Gian Pagolo Baglioni* and *Vitellozzo*. What induced the King ſo immoderately to favour the Grandeur of the Pope, was either an unwary Perſuaſion of the Pope's Sincerity and Friendſhip, out of Gratitude for ſo great Benefits, in conſequence of which, while their Union ſubſiſted, none would preſume to attempt any thing againſt him in *Italy*; or elſe becauſe he did not ſo much rely on the Pope's Friendſhip, as he ſtood in fear of his Enmity. To this might be added, that he had conceived a particular Averſion to *Gian Pagolo*, *Vitellozzo*, and the *Orſini*, becauſe they had all deſpiſed his Orders to withdraw their Forces from the *Florentine* Dominions; and *Vitellozzo* eſpecially

League between the King of *France*, and the Pope and *Valentino*.

Reaſons inducing the King to ſuch an Agreement.

ſpecially had refuſed to reſtore the Artillery which he had ſeized in *Arezzo*, and beſides this, after that he had demanded and obtained a ſafe Conduct to appear before his Majeſty, he had refuſed to come. The King alſo imagined, that it would be of no Diſſervice to his Intereſts if the *Italian* Generals were oppreſſed; for either thro' the ſubtle Working of the Pope and *Valentino*, or by the Perſuaſions of others, he began to be apprehenſive, that theſe Generals, with the *Orſini*, would at length eſpouſe the Party, and enter into the Pay of the King of *Spain*. A. D. 1502.

VALENTINO, taking Leave of the King at *Aſti*, returned to *Romagna*, tho' his Majeſty had at firſt given ſome Hopes to thoſe who ſtood in Fear of the Duke, that, for the common Security, he would take him with him into *France*. * His *Valentino* grown formidable to the *Italian* Princes.

* In the ſubſequent Account of the Reaſons that moved the *Italian* Princes to ſtand in Fear of *Valentino*, you may obſerve the judicious and natural Arrangement by our Author; as, the firſt is taken from the Nature of *Valentino*, after which follow in Order, the Weakneſs of thoſe Princes, the Power of their Enemy, the Favour of Fortune in the Reſpect ſhown him by the *French* King; and laſtly, the Examples of his Cruelty.

A. D. 1502. Return created terrible Apprehenſions not only in the Minds of thoſe againſt whom he directed the Force of his Arms, but alſo in many others, as in *Pandolfo Petrucci*, and the *Orſini*, who were embarked in much the ſame Cauſe as *Vitellozzo* and *Gian Pagolo Baglioni*; and the Duke of *Ferrara* ſtood in greater Fear of the Perfidy and Ambition of the Duke and his Father, than he had Confidence in his Kindred and Alliance with them. As for the *Florentines*, tho' they had recovered their Towns by the King's Favour, they were yet under great Apprehenſions, for they were but ill provided with Men at Arms, becauſe *Lewis* not intirely confiding in the Marquis of *Mantoua*, on account of his Dependance contracted with *Cæſar*, when he ſtood in fear of the King's Forces, tho' he had received him into his Favour when he was at *Milan*, yet would not conſent that they ſhould conſtitute him their Captain General. * And they were convinced by many Signs that the

Reaſons of their particular Fears.

* The Marquis had always a conſiderable Number of Men at Arms, who ſerved under him whenever he was hired.

the Pope and his Son bore them the ſame Malice, particularly, ſince, to keep them under perpetual Apprehenſions, they had received into their neighbouring Places all the Exiles from *Arezzo* and other Towns. But the Fears of all theſe Parties were much augmented by conſidering how much their Enemies had the Advantage in Forces, Money, and Authority, and how greatly Fortune had befriended them in all their Attempts, and that their Luſt of Dominion was not in the leaſt ſatisfied with ſo many Acquiſitions, but, like a Fire continually fed with freſh Supplies of Fewel, was become exorbitant, and boundleſs. They were not without Jealouſies that their Adverſaries, confiding in the mighty Reſpect ſhown them by the King of *France*, would not ſtick to undertake any Enterprize, tho' even contrary to his Will. And both the Father and Son were already grown ſo ſanguine, as openly to declare that they repented of their needleſs Caution and Heſitation in the Affair of *Arezzo*, ſince they did not doubt but that the King, by means of the powerful Intereſt which

A. D. 1502.

A. D. 1502. they had in his Court, according to the Nature of the *French*, would always tolerate when done, what he did not approve of when undertaken. None of the Parties were the leſs timorous on account of the King's Obligations to protect them, becauſe there were freſh Examples, that he had permitted the Lord of *Piombino* to be deprived of his Dominions; nor had he ſhewn any Reſentment at the ſame injurious Treatment of the Duke of *Urbino*, tho' he had received him into his Protection, when he ordered his Army to march for *Naples*, becauſe the Duke entered Fifty of his Men at Arms in his Service. But more recent and more terrifying was the Example of *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, for tho' the King, in the Years next preceding, had commanded *Valentino* not to diſturb the Peace of *Bologna*, profeſſing that his Engagements with the Pope only concerned thoſe Diſtinctions of Pre-eminence and Authority, which the Church enjoyed at the very Time when they were made, yet at preſent, when *Bentivoglio*, taking Alarm at the Preparations which were made

Valentino's Deſign on Bologna.

made againſt him, had recourſe to his Majeſty for Aſſiſtance, the King, by changing the Signification of the Words, according to his own different Intentions and Deſigns, and commenting upon the Capitulations more like a Lawyer than a King, returned for Anſwer, that the Protection by which he was engaged to defend him, was not deſigned as an Obſtacle to any Attempt of the Pope, except on his own Perſon, and private Eſtate. For tho' the Words were general, it was therein ſpecified, that they ſhould be underſtood ſo as not to prejudice the Rights of the Church, to which it could not be denied that the City of *Bologna* belonged; and beſides, in his League with the Pope, which was prior to all thoſe which he had made in *Italy*, he had obliged himſelf, in all future Conventions with others, always to this Exception, that "what is herein ſpecified ſhall not be underſtood to prejudice the Rights of the Church." The King was not aſhamed to perſiſt in this Reſolution, being encouraged in it by the Cardinal of *Rouen*, contrary to the Advice of all the

A. D. 1502.

French King's Evaſion.

A. D. 1502. reſt of his Council, and accordingly ſent to *Bologna* a proper Perſon to intimate, that the City of *Bologna* being a Fief of the Church, he could not excuſe himſelf from favouring the Pope in his Enterpriſe; but that the Family of the *Bentivoglii* were at Liberty to live in the City in a private Manner, and to enjoy their Eſtates by virtue of his Protection.

BESIDES all theſe Princes, the *Venetians* alſo began to take Umbrage at *Valentino*'s Series of good Fortune; and were moreover provoked againſt him, becauſe he had but a few Months before ſhown how little he valued the Authority of the *Venetian* Senate, by having carried off by Force the Wife of *Giovanbattiſta Carracciolo*, Captain General of their Infantry, in her Paſſage through *Romagna* to *Urbino*, where ſhe was to meet her Huſband. In order therefore to induce the King to be leſs laviſh of his Favours, they undertook freely to admoniſh him as Friends zealous for his Honour, repreſenting to him by the Mouth of their Ambaſſadors, in Words becoming the Gravity

Gravity of ſo great a Republic, " that he would pleaſe to conſider of what Conſequence it might prove to heap ſo many Favours on *Valentino*, and how unſuitable it was to the Splendor of the Houſe of *France*, and the glorious Title of the *moſt Chriſtian King*, to uphold a Tyrant, the Deſtroyer of People and Provinces, an inſatiable Thirſter after human Blood, and a public Example of horrible Barbarities and Perfidiouſneſs; who, like a common Robber, had in open Breach of Faith, moſt cruelly murdered ſo many Lords and Noblemen, and had not abſtained from imbruing his Hands in the Blood of his own Brother and near Kindred, deſtroying ſome by Sword, ſome by Poiſon, and, in ſhort, had been guilty of ſuch Inhumanities as would have excited Pity and Compaſſion in the barbarous *Turks*." To all this the King, who perhaps was the more confirmed in his Reſolution by this Remonſtrance of the *Venetians*, only anſwered, that he was neither willing, nor thought it his Duty to hinder the Pope from diſpoſing of the Eſtates belonging

A. D. 1502.

Venetians remonſtrate to the King againſt *Valentino*.

King's Anſwer.

1502. *A. D.* longing to the Church at his own Diſcretion.

But tho' ſome were reſtrained, out of Reſpect to the King, from taking up Arms againſt *Valentino*, thoſe who lay neareſt, and were moſt expoſed to the Danger, reſolved to provide in Time for themſelves. And therefore the *Orſini*, *Vitellozzo*, *Gian Pagolo Baglioni*, and *Liverotto da Fermo*, tho' in the Service of *Valentino*, of whom they had lately received their Pay, notwithſtanding he pretended to employ his whole Force only againſt *Bologna*, retired with the Troops under their Command into Places of Security, with a Deſign to enter into a ſtrict Alliance for their mutual Defence. This Confederacy was accelerated by the Loſs of the Caſtle of *St. Leo*, which was betrayed by a Peaſant appointed to guard a certain Work, into the Hands of its old Maſter *Guidobaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*; and this Beginning gave Occaſion for almoſt all the People of that State to recall their Sovereign, who came from *Venice*, where he had taken Refuge, by

Confederacy againſt *Valentino*.

by Sea to *Sinigaglia*, and immediately recovered the whole Dutchy, except the Fortreſſes. *A. D.* 1502.

THERE aſſembled then at *Magione* in the *Perugine* Cardinal *Orſino*, who after the Departure of the King, being afraid to return to *Rome*, had reſided at *Monte Rotondo*, *Pagolo Orſino*, *Vitellozzo*, *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and *Liverotto da Fermo*, and for *Giovanni Bentivogli*, his Son *Hermes*, and in the Name of the *Seneſe Antonio da Venafro*, a Miniſter in whom *Pandolfo Petrucci* repoſed an entire Confidence. Here the Subject of their Diſcourſe was the Danger to which they were evidently expoſed, and the Opportunity now put into their Hands by the Revolt of the State of *Urbino*, and that *Valentino*, being abandoned by them, would have but very few Troops left. After this they entered into a Confederacy for their mutual Defence, and offenſive againſt *Valentino*, and for the Succour of the Duke of *Urbino*, obliging themſelves to bring into the Field Seven Hundred Men at Arms, and Nine Thouſand Foot; that *Bentivoglio* ſhould

Numbers and Schemes of the Confederates.

A. D. 1502. ſhould begin Hoſtilities in the Territory of *Imola*, while the others with a greater Force ſhould proceed towards *Rimini* and *Peſaro*.

In this Confederacy they took all imaginable Precaution not to provoke the King of *France*, and were in hopes that perhaps he would not be diſpleaſed to have *Valentino* diſtreſſed by the Arms of others, all profeſſing their Readineſs to enter into any Obligation for marching themſelves with all their Force, when, and againſt whom, his Majeſty ſhould think fit to order. And for this Reaſon they would not admit into their Confederacy the *Colonnas*, tho' they were ſuch great Enemies to the Pope, and ſo much perſecuted by him. They ſollicited alſo the Favour of the *Venetians*, and of the *Florentines*, offering to theſe laſt the Reſtitution of *Piſa*, which, they ſaid, was in the Diſpoſal of *Pandolfo Petrucci* by means of the Authority which he had acquired over the *Piſans*. But the *Venetians* ſtood in ſuſpenſe, expecting to ſee firſt how the King of *France* was inclined. And the

the *Florentines* lay ſtill for that ſame Reaſon, and becauſe having both Parties for their Enemies, whoever got the Victory they were likely to ſuffer. *A. D.* 1502.

AN Event ſo ſudden and unforeſeen greatly ſurpriſed Duke *Valentino*, at a Time when, wholly intent on ravaging and ſeizing the Eſtates of his Neighbours, he little dreamt of being attacked on his own Ground. He was not however diſmayed nor diſconcerted by the Greatneſs of the Danger, but placing an entire Confidence, as he ſaid, in his good Fortune, * he applied himſelf with the greateſt Induſtry and Prudence to find out proper Remedies. And in the firſt place, ſeeing himſelf in a manner diſarmed, he diſpatched away an Expreſs to the King of *France* to beg his Aſſiſtance in the moſt preſſing Manner, and to repreſent how much greater Service his Majeſty might, on all accounts, expect from the Pope and himſelf than from his Enemies, and what little Confidence was to be placed in *Vitellozzo* or *Pan-*

Valentine craves Aid of the King of France.

* With this high Degree of Aſſurance and Dependence on his good Fortune, he carried on his Enſigns this Motto, *O Ceſare O Nulla*, Cæſar or Nothing.

A. D. 1502 *Pandolfo*, who was the chief Head and Ringleader of all the others, and had before aſſiſted the Duke of *Milan* againſt him, and ſince that had always a Dependence on the King of the *Romans*.

NOR was the Duke leſs diligent in recruiting his Army, not forgetting in the mean time to have recourſe, in concert with his Father, to fraudulent Means, and laying of Snares. As for the Pontiff, he try'd all manner of Ways, ſometimes excuſing Matters that were too apparent, and again denying what were doubtful, to mitigate the Spirit of Cardinal *Orſino*, through the Mediation of *Giulio* his Brother. And *Valentino* was no leſs buſy in attempting, by various Tricks of Flattery, and fair Promiſes, to mollify, or lull in Security, ſometimes one, ſometimes another among the Confederates, as well with a View to render them the more negligent in their Preparations, as in Hopes, by theſe ſeparate Negotiations, to create Jealouſies and Diſunion among them*.

He attempts to diſſolve the Confederacy by Fraud.

His

* The Method here taken by *Valentino* has been often practiſed as the moſt effectual Means of diſſolving, and conſequently of deſtroying a Confederacy. Thus when

His Reſolution was not to remove from *Imola*, till he had got together a powerful Army, and till then to be attentive only to the Security of that and the other Towns in *Romagna*, without ſending any Succours to the Dutchy of *Urbino*. For this Purpoſe he ordered Don *Ugo di Cardona*, and Don *Michele*, his Officers, who lay on the Borders of that State, with One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light Horſe, and Five Hundred Foot, to retire to *Rimini*. But they neglected his Orders on account of an Opportunity that offered itſelf of reducing and plundering *Pergola* and *Foſſombrone*, into which they were introduced by the Governors of thoſe Fortreſſes. But the Event ſhewed that it would have been better for them to have obeyed the Duke's Orders; for as they were marching towards *Cagli*, not far from *Foſſom-* A. D. 1502.

the Emperor *Frederick* was informed that the *Auſtrians*, *Bohemians*, and *Hungarians* had conſederated againſt him, "I will, ſaid he, throw an Apple among them, ſuch as "was thrown between the three Goddeſſes in the Fable, "and ſet them together by the Ears." He meant the Apple of Diſcord; and the ſame artful Way was taken by the famous *Caſtruccio*, Lord of *Lucca*, to oppreſs the Marquiſes of *Malaſpina* who were united againſt him, in which he ſucceeded to his Wiſh.

A. D. 1502. *Foſſombrone* they fell in with *Pagolo* and the Duke of *Gravina*, both of the *Orſini* Family, at the Head of Six Hundred of *Vitellozzo*'s Foot, and coming to an Engagement *Valentino*'s Men were totally routed, with the Loſs of many killed on the Spot, and many taken Priſoners. Among the ſlain was *Bartolomeo da Capranica* Captain of Seventy Men at Arms, and Don *Ugo di Cardona* was taken Priſoner. Don *Michele* eſcaped to *Fano*, from whence, by the Duke's Order, he retired to *Peſaro*, leaving *Fano*, as a well-affected Town, in the Cuſtody of the Inhabitants, ſince he had not a Force ſufficient to defend both Places.

While theſe Things happened the Forces of the *Bologneſe* which were quartered at *Caſtel San Piero*, made an Incurſion as far as *Doccia*, a Place in the Neighbourhood of *Imola*; and the Affairs of *Valentino* would certainly have been reduced to a very low Ebb, had the Confederates been but quick in proſecuting thoſe Advantages which they had over him. But whether it happened on account

count of the Forces not being in a Readineſs according to Agreement in the Convention, or that the Confederates, being held in Suſpenſe by the ſeparate Negotiations of Peace, began to miſtruſt one another, and lie upon their Guard, the favourable Opportunity was loſt. For the King of *France* immediately ordered *Chaumont* to ſend away Four Hundred Lances to *Valentino*, and to endeavour by all Means poſſible to give a Reputation to his Cauſe. The firſt News of this Step of the King threw the Affairs of the Allies into ſtrange Confuſion, and every one began to think of providing for himſelf. Cardinal *Orſino* continued negotiating with the Pope, and *Pandolfo Petrucci* ſent *Antonio da Venafro* to *Imola*, to treat with *Valentino*. *Giovanni Bentivoglio* alſo entered into a Treaty with him, and at the ſame time deputed *Carlo de gl' Ingrati* his Ambaſſador to the Pontiff, and made Reſtitution of the Plunder made at *Doccia*. *Valentino* promoted theſe Negotiations with all the Cunning his Nature afforded, and judging *Pagolo Orſino* a fit Inſtrument to decoy the reſt into his Power, he invited him

A. D. 1502.

III Conduct of the Confederates.

A. D. 1502. him to *Imola*, on pretence of repoſing much Confidence in him, and for his Security Cardinal *Borgia* put himſelf in the Hands of the *Orſini*. *Pagolo* met with nothing but the kindeſt Expreſſions from *Valentino*, who ſorely lamented not ſo much that he and thoſe others of the Confederacy, who had all along ſerved him with the utmoſt Fidelity until this unlucky Juncture, ſhould ſo ſlightly conceive an Averſion to him and his Service on ſome vain Surmiſes, as blaming his own Indiſcretion in not knowing how to deal with ſuch worthy Men, in ſuch a Manner as to leave no Room for thoſe idle Suſpicions: But he was in Hopes that thoſe Differences, which aroſe from no juſt and well grounded Cauſe, would at laſt, inſtead of Enmity, produce a firm and laſting Peace and Union between him and them; ſince they could not but be ſenſible that it was out of their Power to oppreſs him, becauſe the King of *France* was ſo fully bent in ſupporting his preſent Grandeur; and he himſelf, on the other hand, had his Eyes now better opened by Experience of the preſent Event, and did ingenuouſly

Valentino ſooths the Confederates with fair Speeches.

genuouſly confeſs that it was by Means of their Counſels, and by the Valour of their Arms, that he was arrived to his preſent Height of Felicity and Reputation; for which Reaſons he was moſt ardently deſirous to renew their antient Friendſhip, was ready to give them Security in what Manner they pleaſed, and would leave his Controverſies with the *Bologneſe*, ſome Regard being had to his Dignity, to their Arbitration. To all this, which concerned the whole Body of the Allies, he added particular Demonſtrations of his extraordinary Confidence in *Pagolo*, filling him with Hopes, and Promiſes of mighty Matters for his peculiar Share, and with ſuch an Air of Sincerity, as eaſily gained Credit to all that he ſaid; for he was by Nature a very moving Speaker, and of a ready Wit and Invention. *A. D.* 1502.

WHILE theſe Matters were in Agitation, the People of *Camerino* recalled *Giovan Maria da Varano*, Son of their late Lord, who was at *Aquila*: Much about the ſame time *Vitellozzo*, to the great Mortification of *Pagolo Orſino* took

D. A. 1502. the Caſtle of *Foſſombrone*; and the Cittadel of *Urbino* being alſo in like Manner reduced, and ſoon after the Fortreſſes of *Cagli* and *Agobbio*, *Valentino* had nothing left in that State but *Santa Agata*, and he had beſides loſt the whole Territory of *Fano*. *Pagolo* however continued his Negotiations, and after he had taken ſeveral Turns from *Imola* to *Bologna*, in order to give ſome Form to the Affairs of the *Bentivogli*, who were his Relations, his Daughter being married to *Hermes*, Son of *Giovanni*, the Parties at laſt came to an Agreement, but upon Condition that it ſhould paſs under the Approbation of Cardinal *Orſino*, to whoſe Authority almoſt all thoſe concerned paid a Deference: The Articles were in Subſtance, That all Prejudices conceived on either Side, all Animoſities, and the Remembrance of all paſt Injuries and Offences, ſhould be cancelled: That the Confederates ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their former Poſts in the Army, under an Obligation to ſerve as *Valentino*'s Soldiers in the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and of the other States that had rebelled; but for their Security they ſhould not

Treaty between the Confederates and *Valentino*.

be

be obliged to ſerve in Perſon more than one at a time; nor ſhould Cardinal *Orſino* be bound to reſide at the Court of *Rome*: Laſtly, That the Affairs of *Bologna* ſhould be left to the free Arbitration of Duke *Valentino*, Cardinal *Orſino*, and *Pandolfo Petrucci*. A. D. 1502.

WITH this Treaty *Pagolo Orſino*, who was every Day more and more ſatisfied of the good Intentions of *Valentino*, ſet out to find the Confederates, and induce them to ratify. But *Bentivoglio* thinking it neither ſafe honourable, nor reaſonable, that his Affairs ſhould be at the Diſpoſal of others, who might manage them at Diſcretion, deputed his Son the Prothonotary to *Imola*, and receiving Hoſtages from *Valentino*, concluded a Treaty with the Pope and him, to which they eaſily condeſcended, becauſe they were aſſured that the King of *France* taking into better Conſideration, either the Diſgrace, or the Importance of ſuffering the Town of *Bologna* to fall into their Hands, had altered his firſt Reſolution, and would by no means conſent that they ſhould be

A. D. 1502. Maſters of that City. The Conditions were, That there ſhould be a perpetual League between *Valentino* on the one Part, and the *Bentivogli*, together with the Community of *Bologna* on the other: That the *Bologneſe* ſhould furniſh *Valentino* with One Hundred Men at Arms for eight Years, inſtead of which it was afterwards agreed that they ſhould pay him One Thouſand Two Hundred Ducats yearly: That the *Bologneſe* ſhould furniſh him with One Hundred Men at Arms, and One Hundred Archers on Horſeback, but only for the next enſuing Year. That the King of *France* and the *Florentines* ſhould promiſe to guaranty the Treaty: And laſtly for the better Eſtabliſhment of this Peace, the Son of *Annibale Bentivoglio* ſhould marry a Siſter of the Biſhop of *Enna*, the Pope's Nephew.

Treaty between *Valentino* and the *Bentivogli*.

VALENTINO however did not ceaſe ſolliciting the March of the *French* Troops, and of Three Thouſand *Swiſs* whom he had taken into his Pay, under Pretence of employing them not againſt the Confederates, but for the Recovery of the Dutchy

of

of *Urbino*, and of *Camerino*. For the Confederates were now come to a Reſolution to ratify the Agreement that had been made, Cardinal *Orſini*, who was gone to the *Spedaletto*, near *Siena*, being induced alſo to give his Conſent by the Perſuaſions of *Pagolo*, and the preſſing Intreaties of *Pandolfo Petrucci*. *Vitellozzo* likewiſe and *Gian Pagolo Baglioni*, who were very ſhy of truſting to *Valentino*'s Faith, were, after much Reluctancy, brought at laſt to accede to this Treaty. The ſame was afterwards ratified by the Pope; on which the Duke of *Urbino*, tho' his Subjects, profeſſing their Readineſs to ſacrifice their Lives for his Preſervation, prayed him not to leave them, apprehending more from the Power of the Military, than he had Confidence in the Favour of the Populace, gave Way to the Fury of his Enemies, and returned to *Venice**, having firſt diſmantled all the fortified Places of his Dutchy, except *St. Leo* and *Maiuolo*. And the People, to whom *Valentino* had commiſſioned *Antonio del Monte a ſan Sovino*,

A. D. 1502.

Confederates ſign a Treaty of Peace with *Valentino*.

* The Senate allowed the Duke a Pound of Gold every Month for his Table. *Bembo*.

A. D. 1502.

vino, afterwards Cardinal, with full Power to grant a Pardon, returned by Agreement under his Yoke; as did alſo the City of *Camerino*, their Lord having deſerted them and fled to *Naples*, in a great Conſternation, on Advice that *Vitellozzo* and the others having reſumed their Poſts in the Army under *Valentino*, were marched out of the Territory of *Fano*, and were preparing to attack him. At the ſame time the Pope ordered *Palombara* to be beſieged; which Town had been lately recovered by the *Savelli*, together with *Senſano* and other Caſtles belonging to them, taking their Opportunity from the Commotions raiſed by the Confederates.

BUT Duke *Valentino*, longing to put in Execution what he had ſecretly reſolved, removed from *Imola* to *Ceſena*, where he was no ſooner arrived than the *French* Lances, who were come but a few Days before, all of a ſudden left him, being recalled by *Chaumont*, not by Order of the King, but, as ſome ſay, from a private Miſunderſtanding between him and *Valentino*; or rather becauſe it was of the Duke's own

The *French* Troops quit *Valentino*.

own procuring, in order to render himſelf leſs formidable to thoſe whom he would by all means induce to think themſelves in perfect Security*. At *Ceſena* he made a Review of his Troops, which were more numerous than was reported, becauſe he had purpoſely avoided enliſting great Numbers in any one Place, but he was continually taking into his Service broken Lances, and private Gentlemen. A. D. 1502.

IN the mean time *Vitellozzo* and the *Orſini* had by the Duke's Orders laid Siege to *Sinigaglia*, and taken both the Town and Caſtle, the Governeſs, who was Siſter to the Duke of *Urbino*, ſaving herſelf by Flight, being abandoned by all, tho' her Son, a Child, was under the Protection of the King of *France*, who excuſed himſelf from aſſiſting her, becauſe ſhe was a Party in the Confederacy of *Magione*. Takes *Sinigaglio*.

* This laſt Opinion agrees in part with that of *Buonacorſi*, who ſays that *Valentino* on the 20th of *December* diſmiſſed his *French* Troops, becauſe he thought himſelf ſtrong enough without them.

A. D. 1502.

AFTER the taking of *Sinigaglia Valentino* went to *Fano*, where having ſtayed ſome Days to aſſemble all his Troops, he gave Notice to *Vitellozzo* and the *Orſini*, that he intended the next Day to take up his Quarters in *Sinigaglia*, and therefore deſired them to remove their Soldiers which were quartered in the Town without the Walls. His Orders were ſoon put in Execution, and Lodgings provided for the Infantry in the Suburbs of the City, and the Men at Arms diſtributed about the Country. The next Day according to Appointment *Valentino* comes to *Senigaglia*, and was met by *Pagolo Orſino*, the Duke of *Gravina*, *Vitellozzo*, and *Liverotto da Fermo*, all whom he received with wonderful Careſſes, and was attended by them to the Gate of the City, before which all *Valentino*'s Men were drawn up in Order. Here they offered to take their Leave, in order to retire to their Lodgings, which were without the Walls, being under ſome Apprehenſions from obſerving the Number of his Forces, which was greater than they expected. But he intreated

Valentino's crafty Proceedings.

treated them to accompany him into the Town, becauſe he wanted to diſcourſe with them. It was not in their Power to refuſe, and ſo with drooping Spirits, which preſaged that ſome great Miſchief was near at hand, they attended him to his Quarters, and retired with him into a Chamber. Here after ſome little Diſcourſe he left them with an Excuſe that he wanted to change his Apparel*; and at that Inſtant the Guardſmen ruſhed into the Chamber, and made them all four Priſoners; at the ſame time he gave Orders for diſarming and ſtripping their Soldiers. The next Day, which was the laſt of *December*, that the Year 1502 might terminate in a Tragedy, he ordered *Vitellozzo* and

A. D. 1502.

Valentino ſeizes the four Chiefs of the Confederates.

Vitellozzo and *Liverotto* ſtrangled.

* *Buonacorſi* ſays that *Valentino*'s Excuſe was the Neceſſities of Nature, and that he ſaid he would be with them again in a few Moments. The ſame Hiſtorian informs us that while *Valentino* was ſcouring the Streets with his Soldiers, and cutting to Pieces ſome of *Liverotto*'s Party which had entered the City, he happened to meet with the *Florentine* Envoy, to whom he ſaid "Sir, what is "done is no more than what I had a Mind to tell to M. "di *Volterra* in *Urbino*, but could not prevail with myſelf "to diſcover the Secret. But the Opportunity is now come, "and I have been wiſe enough to improve it, and in ſo "doing have done a great Pleaſure to your Maſters."

A. D. 1502. and *Liverotto* to be ſtrangled in one Chamber, and reſerved the other two in Priſon.

As for *Vitellozzo*, he could not avoid the Fate that attended his Family, which was to die a violent Death, as did all his Brothers. at a Time when they were arrived to a high Degree of Reputation for their Valour and Experience in military Affairs, and that ſucceſſively, one after another, according to the Order of their Ages. *Giovanni* the eldeſt was killed with a Cannon Ball, at the Siege which Pope *Innocent* ordered to be laid to *Oſimo*; *Camillo*, in the *French* Service, was killed with a Stone at the Attack of *Circelle*, and *Pagolo* was beheaded in *Florence*. But as for *Liverotto* none can deny that he met with a Puniſhment ſuitable to his Crimes; it being very juſt that he ſhould die by Treachery, who not long before, in order to eſtabliſh his Authority in *Fermo*, had in a moſt treacherous and cruel Manner murdered his Uncle *Giovanni Frangiani*, with many others of the principal Citizens, of whom he had invited to a Feaſt at his own Houſe.

Treacherous and cruel Fact of *Liverotto*.

THIS

A. D. 1502.

THIS Year afforded nothing elſe remarkable, except that *Lodovico* and *Federigo* of the Family of the *Pichi* Counts of *Mirandola*, being expelled by *Giovanfranceſco* their Brother, and laying Claims to the ſame Rights as he himſelf, tho' he was their Elder, procured ſome Aſſiſtance of Soldiers from the Duke of *Ferrara*, whoſe natural Siſter was their Mother, and from *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, Father-in-Law to *Lodovico*, with which they drove away their Brother by Force of Arms. This Affair is ſcarce worth mentioning of itſelf, but in ſucceeding Years the Diſputes between the Brothers produced Events of ſome Conſequence.

Civil Diſſentions between Brothers.

1503. THE Year 1503 will appear to be as full of memorable Actions, and important Events, as any of the preceding. And here what firſt occurs in Order of Time, is the Perfidy and Impiety of the Head of the Chriſtian Religion, who little expected what was to befal himſelf and his Affairs in the Courſe of this Year.

VALEN-

A. D. 1503.

VALENTINO then having, with all poſſible Speed, as it was concerted between them, acquainted the Pope of the happy Succeſs of his enſnaring Plot in *Sinigaglia*, his Holineſs kept his Advice very ſecret, and took Care that it ſhould not be divulged by any other Way. This done, under colour of Buſineſs, he ſent in all Haſte for Cardinal *Orſino*, to come to the Vatican, who relying on the late Treaty, and truſting to the Faith of one whom all the World knew to have none, led by Fate more than by Reaſon, was but a few Days before come to *Rome*. He was no ſooner arrived in the Palace than he was made a Priſoner; and at the ſame time were ſeized in their Houſes *Rinaldo Orſino*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, the Prothonotary *Orſino*, the Abbot *Alviano*, Brother of *Bartolomeo*, and *Jacopo Santa Croce*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, who were Heads of that Faction, and were all committed to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*. The Pope ſent the Prince of *Squillaci*, his Son, to take poſſeſſion of the Eſtates of *Pagolo* and of the reſt; and ſent with him

Cardinal *Orſino* and others made Priſoners.

him the Prothonotary, and *Jacopo Santa Croce*, to order the Aſſignments, after which they were remanded back under the ſame Cuſtody. The Pope took occaſion to be mighty arch, after his *Spaniſh* quibbling Manner, on what his Son had done. "For, ſays he, it was *Pagolo Orſino*, and the reſt that were the firſt Falſifiers of their Word, for they had obliged themſelves to go to him but one at a Time, and yet they came all together; and ſurely it was no leſs lawful for him to break his Word with them." The Cardinal was under Confinement about Twenty Days, the Pope pretending various Reaſons for impriſoning ſo aged a Perſon, ſo venerable, and ſo antient a Cardinal, till at laſt it came to be talked abroad, that he was taken ſick and died in the Palace, as every one believed, of Poiſon. The Pope, to clear himſelf of the Imputation, tho' he uſed to be Proof againſt Infamy, cauſed his Corpſe to be carried to the Sepulchre in open Day, and uncovered, attended by his Domeſtics, and all the Cardinals; and the reſt of the Priſoners, on giving Security for their Ap-

A. D. 1503.

Cardinal *Orſino* thought to be poiſoned.

A. D. 1503. Appearance, were, not long after, discharged.

But *Valentino*, who did not care to be wicked without a Reward, departed without Delay from *Sinigaglia*, and directed his March towards *Citta di Caſtello*, which he found abandoned by all thoſe who remained alive of the Family of the *Vitelli*; for as ſoon as they had heard of the Death of *Vitellozzo*, they betook themſelves to Flight. From thence the Duke continued his March towards *Perugia*, whence fled *Gian Pagolo*, who being more cautious than the reſt, had declined to go to *Sinigaglia*; but he was only reſerved to a greater tho' a later Puniſhment *. *Valentino* left both theſe Cities under the Dominion of the Church, recalling to *Perugia Carlo Baglione*, with the *Oddi*, and others that were Enemies to *Gian Pagolo*. And now thinking he had a fair Opportunity of making himſelf Maſter of *Siena*, he continued his March, attended by ſome Exiles of that City, and his Army juſt reinforced by the *Bo-*

* He was beheaded at *Rome* by Order of Pope *Leo* X.

Bologneſe Auxiliaries, to *Caſtel della Pieve*. Here receiving Intelligence of the Apprehending of Cardinal *Orſino*, he cauſed the Duke of *Gravina* and *Pagolo Orſino* to be ſtrangled; and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Siena* to demand of the Citizens the Expulſion of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, as his Enemy, and a Diſturber of the Tranquility of *Tuſcany*; promiſing, if he were driven away, to depart with his Army into the Territory of *Rome*, without any further Damage to their Country. But on the other hand the Pope as well as himſelf had a longing Deſire that *Pandolfo*, who had been an Accomplice with the reſt in their Life, ſhould alſo accompany them to the Grave. For this End they had endeavoured by all means to lull him aſleep by the ſame Arts as had ſucceeded with the others. The Pope writ Briefs and Letters in the kindeſt Terms, and ſent him Expreſſes with Meſſages full of Affection, and ſweet Expreſſions. But a Suſpicion, which had poſſeſſed the People of *Siena*, that the Pontiff and his Son had formed a Deſign to ſeize their City, rendered their Plot upon *Pandolfo* the more difficult.

A. D. 1502.

Duke of *Gravina* and *Pagolo Orſino* ſtrangled.

For

A. D. 1503. For many of the Citizens, who were diſcontented under the ordinary Courſe of his Adminiſtration, thought it better, under the preſent Circumſtances, to temporize a little, and bear with the Tyranny of a Fellow Citizen, than ſubject themſelves to a foreign Yoke. Hence by the Anſwer that was given at firſt to *Valentino*'s Demand, he had no Reaſon to hope for the Departure of *Pandolfo*. But he, continuing in his Diſſimulation, and pretending he deſired and inſiſted only on this one Point, proceeded further on their Territory, and advanced as far as *Pienza* *, *Chiuſi*, and other neighbouring Towns, which all yielded upon Compoſition. The City of *Siena* now began to be in a Conſternation, and it was talked among the People, and even by ſome of the Chiefs, that it was by no means expedient, that for the ſake of maintaining the Power of one Citizen the whole City ſhould be expoſed to Ruine. But *Pandolfo*

* In *Pienza* Duke *Valentino* came to an Agreement with the Ambaſſadors of *Siena* about the Departure of *Pandolfo*, for whom he promiſed to procure a ſafe Conduct thro' the Dominions of *Florence*; and in this he was as good as his Word. *Buonacorſi*.

dolfo reſolved on doing with a good Grace, and Thanks from all People, what he doubted he ſhould at laſt be compelled to do with the univerſal Hatred of all Ranks, and his own private Danger and Damage. By his Conſent, therefore, it was ſignified to *Valentino* in the Name of the Public, that they were content to comply with his Demand, provided he would remove with his Army from their Territories. This Reſolution of the Citizens, tho' the Pope and his Son aimed at higher Matters, was accepted, conſidering that it would be a difficult Taſk to take *Siena*, a large Town, ſtrong by Situation, in which was *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, with a good Number of Soldiers, and where the People, when aſſured that *Valentino* had other Deſigns beſides the Expulſion of *Pandolfo*, would join as one Man to reſiſt him. To this it might be added, that the Pope thought it neceſſary, for his own Security, that his Son ſhould return with his Army to *Rome*, where they were under Apprehenſions of ſome Commotions. For *Giulio* and ſome others of the *Orſini* were come to *Pitigliano*, and

A. D. 1503.

Pandol leaves *Siena*.

A. D. 1503. *Fabio* and *Organtino Orſini* with a good Number of Horſe were in *Cervetri*; and *Mutio Colonna* had marched from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and was entered into *Palombara* for the Aſſiſtance of the *Savelli*, which Family, by a late Marriage, had eſtabliſhed a new Correſpondence, and contracted Affinities with the *Orſini*. But what more effectually damped their Hopes of getting *Siena*, was their Aſſurance, that the King of *France*, tho' at the Beginning dubious how to act, appeared now diſpleaſed at ſuch an Undertaking. For tho' he had wiſhed to ſee *Vitellozzo* and the other Confederates humbled, he ſoon perceived that their total Ruin, with the Addition of ſo many States, would make the Pope and *Valentino* too powerful. Beſides the City of *Siena* and *Pandolfo* were under his Protection, and the Place did not appertain to the Church but the Empire; for which Reaſons he thought he might very juſtly oppoſe ſuch an Acquiſition. The Pope and his Son had alſo ſome Hopes, that by the Departure of *Pandolfo*, the Government of *Siena* would be thrown into

into ſome Confuſion, which in Proceſs of Time might give an Opportunity for colouring their Deſign. *A. D.* 1503.

PANDOLFO then departed from *Siena* *, but left the ſame Guard, and the ſame Authority in his Friends and Dependants, ſo that no viſible Alteration appeared in the Government; and *Valentino* directed his March towards *Rome*, fully bent on the Deſtruction of the *Orſini*, who, in conjunction with the *Savelli*, had taken *Ponte a Lamentano*, and ſcoured all the Country. But they were now curbed by the Coming of *Valentino*, who immediately fell upon the Eſtate of *Giangiordano*, without regarding that he was no profeſſed Enemy, had a Command in the *French* Army, had received the Order of *St. Michael*, was under the King's Protection, and now actually in his Service in the King- *Valentino* attacks the *Orſini*.

K 2

* *Pandolfo* left *Siena* on *Jan.* 28, 1503, accompanied by *Gio. Pagolo Baglione*, as far as *Lucca*. *Valentino* ſent Fifty Horſe to waylay him, and deſtroy him; but they happened to be ſo long retained at *Caſcina* by the *Florentine* Governor, under ſome Suſpicion, that *Pandolfo* got ſafe to *Piſa*. *Buonacorſi*.

A. D. 1503. Kingdom of *Naples*. The Pope pleaded in Juſtification of this Step to the King, that he was not moved by a covetous Deſire of depriving *Giangiordano* of his Eſtate, but ſo heinous were the Injuries and Affronts which he had received from the Family of the *Orſini*, that he could not with Safety have him for his near Neighbour; and therefore he would willingly give him the Principality of *Squillaci*, and other Lands equivalent in recompenſe for his Damages. But the King would not accept theſe Excuſes, but highly reſented ſuch an Inſult, not ſo much becauſe he had more Regard than uſual to the Violation of his Protection, as for that his Affairs being on the Decline in the Kingdom of *Naples*, he began to take Umbrage at the Audaciouſneſs and Inſolence of the Pope and *Valentino*. And now he called to Mind the Invaſion of *Tuſcany* in the laſt Year, and what they had ſince attempted againſt *Siena*, without Regard to his Protection. He conſidered alſo that the more they had obtained, or ſhould hereafter obtain of him, the more greedy they were, and would

King of France jealous of Valentino.

would always be coveting after more. A. D. 1503.
And therefore he ſent a ſharp Meſſage to *Valentino*, commanding him to deſiſt from moleſting the Eſtate of *Giangiordano*, who by Ways unknown, and not without great Hazard, had got into *Bracciano*. Beſides this, it appearing neceſſary to ſecure the Affairs of *Tuſcany* from ſuffering any Alteration, and the King underſtanding that, in *Siena* particularly, civil Diſſentions began to ariſe, by Advice of the *Florentines*, began to treat about recalling thither *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who had taken up his Reſidence in *Piſa*, and of forming a League between the *Florentines*, *Seneſe*, and *Bologneſe* for their mutual Defence; in which, to remove all Cauſe of Diſſention, *Montepulciano* was to be reſtored to the *Florentines*, and each Party, according to their Ability, was to provide themſelves with a Number of Men at Arms, for their common Security, and to deprive the Pope and *Valentino* of the Power of extending themſelves further in *Tuſcany*. *

* *Citta di Caſtello &c.* which *Valentino* had taken, were then part of *Tuſcany*.

A. D. 1503.

IN the mean time *Valentino*, with Part of his Army, took *Viçovaro*, where *Giangiordano* had a Garriſon of Six Hundred Foot; but on receiving the *French* King's Command, he raiſed the Siege of *Bracciano*, to his own and the Pope's great Mortification, and went to inveſt *Ceri*, in which were *Giovanni Orſino*, Lord of that Place, with his Son *Renzo*, and *Giulio* and *Frangiotto* of the ſame Family. At the ſame time the Father proceeded in a Courſe of Juſtice againſt the whole Houſe of the *Orſini*, except *Giangiordano*, and Count *Pitigliano*, the latter of whom the *Venetians* would not ſuffer to be moleſted.

Deſcription of *Ceri*.

CERI is a Town of great Antiquity, and much celebrated for the Strength of its Situation, which is on a Mount, or rather on a Rock of one entire Stone. After the *Romans* had received that ſignal Defeat by the *Gauls* at the River *Allia*, now called *Caminate*, deſpairing of defending *Rome*, they ſent the Veſtal Virgins, with the moſt ſecret and venerable Images

Images of the Gods, and a Multitude of other ſacred and religious Trinkets, to *Ceri*, as a Place of Security; on which account they remained inviolate in ſucceeding Times, and eſcaped the Rage of the *Barbarians*, when in the declining State of the *Roman* Empire, like an Inundation, they overſpread all *Italy*. The natural Strength of this Place, with a numerous and courageous Garriſon, rendered *Valentino*'s Attack difficult, tho' he uſed all the Means that Art or Induſtry could afford to reduce it, employing beſides many other Inſtruments of War, Iron Hooks, and ſeveral wooden Machines for ſcaling the Walls. *A. D.* 1503. Siege of *Ceri*.

DURING this Siege, *Franceſco da Narni* was ſent to *Siena* by the King of *France*, to notify, that it was his royal Pleaſure that *Pandolfo* ſhould be recalled, having before brought him under an Obligation to be true to his Majeſty's Intereſt, and to ſend his eldeſt Son to *France* as an Hoſtage; beſides which, he was to pay what remained of the Forty Thouſand Ducats due by Treaty, *Pandolfo* recalled to *Siena*.

D. A. 1503. and to reſtore *Montepulciano* to the *Florentines*. When this came to be known in *Siena*, *Pandolfo*'s Return met with little Oppoſition, being promoted by the Authority of the royal Name, openly countenanced by the *Florentines*, and highly agreeable to the Citizens his Friends, who took up Arms on the Night before the Day appointed for his Arrival, which ſtruck an Awe into all thoſe who were of different Sentiments.

Palombara, Ceri, &c. taken by the Pope's Forces.

THE Pope was extremely mortified at this Event, tho' his Deſigns in other Quarters went on proſperouſly. For *Palombara* and the other Towns of the *Savelli* were ſurrendered to him; and the Garriſon of *Ceri*, being tired out with continual Watching Night and Day, and by frequent Attacks, ſurrendered up the Place, upon Condition that *Giovanni*, Lord of the Town, ſhould receive of the Pontiff a certain Sum of Money, and that he and all the reſt ſhould be ſuffered to depart in Safety to *Pitigliano*; which Articles were, contrary to the Pope's Cuſtom,

Cuſtom, and to univerſal Expectation, faithfully obſerved. *A. D.* 1503.

THE Affairs of the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples* were not in the like proſperous Condition, having in the Beginning of this Year met with a conſiderable Check. For Count *Meleto*, with the Forces belonging to the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano*, having laid Siege to *Terranuova*, Don *Ugo di Cardona*, with Eight Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, which had ſerved under *Valentino*, and which he had conducted from *Rome*, and One Hundred Horſe, and Eight Hundred Foot *Sicilians* and *Calabrians*, paſſed over from *Meſſina* to *Calabria*, and drawing up his Forces at *Seminara*, marched to raiſe the Siege. Count *Meleto*, on Advice of his Motions, decamped from *Terranuova* with a Deſign to encounter him. The Way that the *Spaniards* took lay through a narrow Plain, between a Mountain and the Bed of a River, that carried but a very ſmall Stream, but had a conſiderable Declivity of its Bank from the Road. The *French*, who were ſuperior in Number, marched over

The Affairs of *Naples*.

1503. A. D. over againſt them on the other Side of the River, with a Deſign to draw them over into the open Plain. But perceiving that they marched forwards, in firm and cloſe Order, and being apprehenſive that if they did not intercept their Paſſage, they would proceed without Diſturbance to *Terranuova*, they paſſed the River to attack them, but what with the Valour of the *Spaniſh* Infantry, inured to War, and what with the Declivity of the Bank, which was a conſiderable Diſadvantage to the *French*, they were defeated.

French defeated near *Terranuova.*

NOT long after arrived at *Meſſina* from *Spain* by Sea, Two Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Jennets, and Two Thouſand Foot, under the Command of *Manuelo di Benavida*, accompanied by *Antonio da Leva*, who, from the loweſt Degree of a common Soldier, aſcended afterwards through all the military Ranks to the higheſt Degree of Captain General, and ſignalized his Name by many Victories in *Italy*. Theſe new Supplies croſſed over from *Meſſina* to *Reggio* in *Calabria*, taken not long before by the *Spaniards*,

Spaniards, while *Aubigni* was in another Part of *Calabria*, which Province was almoſt wholly at his Devotion. From *Reggio* they removed their Quarters to *Soſarno*, Five Miles from *Calimero*, in which were *Ambricourt* with Thirty Lances, and Count *Meleto* with One Thouſand Foot, which had all entered the Place Two Days before. The *Spaniards* preſenting themſelves next Morning, at Break of Day, before the Walls, which had no Gates, but only a Bar, at the ſecond Aſſault carried the Town, after a brave Reſiſtance, in which *Spirto*, an Officer of Note among the Beſieged, was killed, and *Ambricourt* taken Priſoner; but Count *Meleto* ſaved himſelf by retiring into the Caſtle, which was not attacked, becauſe the *Spaniards* ſoon after retreated in all haſte to *Terranuova*, to avoid *Aubigni*, who with Three Hundred Lances, Three Thouſand foreign Foot, and Two Thouſand Foot of the Country, was advanced near them. After this Action *Aubigni* entrenched himſelf at *Polliſtrine*, a Caſtle in the Neighbourhood. But the *Spaniards*, being in Want of Proviſions, ſecretly decamped

A. D. 1503.

Calimera taken by Storm.

A. D. 1503. camped one Night, and took their March towards *Ghierace*. *Aubigni* followed and came up with them at the Foot of a Hill of difficult Aſcent, where they loſt Sixty Men at Arms, and a good Number of their Foot; of the *French* was killed Captain *Grugni*, an Officer of great Reputation, who had advanced too forward. He commanded the Company that belonged to the late Count *Gajazzo*, who died a natural Death ſoon after the Taking of *Capua*.

Action to the Advantage of the *French*.

About this Time arrived in *Sicily* another Fleet from *Spain*, in which were Two Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot, Commanded by *Portocarrera*, who dying afterwards at *Reggio*, whither he had tranſported himſelf with his Troops, was ſucceeded by Don *Ferrando d' Andrada* his Lieutenant. The *Spaniards* reſuming new Spirits from this Reinforcement, returned from *Ghierace*, whither they had retreated, to *Terranuova*, where they fortified themſelves in a Part of the Town contiguous to the Caſtle, which was

was in their Poſſeſſion, and overlooks a Valley, adjoining to which is the reſt of the Town. Here they lay under Apprehenſions from *Aubigni*, and not without Reaſon, for that General ſpeedily marched from *Polliſtrine*, and took up his Quarters in that Part of the Town which was free from the *Spaniards*. And now both Parties went hard to Work in drawing Trenches, and erecting Barricades, for the better Separation and Defence of their reſpective Quarters. But *Aubigni*, on Advice that the *Spaniards*, who had landed at *Reggio*, were in Motion to join thoſe in *Terranuova*, left that Place, and retired to *Loſarno*; and the *Spaniards*, took up their Quarters altogether within the Town of *Seminara*, where they knew they could be well ſupplied with Proviſions.

A. D. 1503.

Terranuova divided between *French* and *Spaniards*.

DURING theſe Tranſactions in *Calabria* the *French* Viceroy returned towards *Barletta*, and fixing his head Quarters at *Matera* diſtributed his Troops in the circumjacent Places, with a Deſign to intercept all Proviſions from entering *Barletta*, in hopes that by the Peſtilence and Famine,

A. D. 1503. mine, which both raged in that Place, the *Spaniards* would be quite diſabled either to maintain themſelves in that Town, or to make a Retreat to *Trani*, where they would meet with the ſame Diſaſters. But they ſtruggled through ſo many Difficulties and Dangers with amazing Perſeverance, in which they were mightily encouraged and heartened by the exemplary Reſolution and Vigilance of *Gonſalvo*, who was perpetually feeding them with Hopes, ſometimes of the Arrival of Two Thouſand *German* Foot, which he had ordered *Ottaviano Colonna* to raiſe in *Germany*, ſometimes of other Succours; and ſometimes by ſpreading a Report that he intended to retire by Sea to *Taranto*. But of much more Efficacy was his own Example, in participating of all the Fatigues, and of all the Diſtreſſes for Want of Proviſions and of all other Neceſſaries, with a cheerful Spirit. *

Good Conduct and Reſolution of *Gonſalvo*.

SUCH

* *Giovo* in his Life of *Gonſalvo*, Lib. II. tells us, that M. *de Nemours*, who was encamped two Miles from *Barletta*, ſent a Challenge to the *Spaniſh* General to come out with his Army, and fight him in the open Field. But *Gonſalvo* returned for Anſwer, that he was not uſed to fight when his Enemy pleaſed, but at his own Diſcretion, and when he ſaw a fit Opportunity.

A. D. 1503.

SUCH was the State of the War in *Naples* when the *Spaniards*, who had hitherto been inferior to their Enemies, through the Negligence and inſolent Behaviour of the *French*, began to get the upper Hand of them. For the Inhabitants of *Caſtellaneta*, a Town not far from *Barletta*, being enraged at the Inſults which they ſuffered from fifty *French* Lances quartered upon them, roſe in Arms againſt them with one Conſent, and diſarmed and ſtripped them. And not long after *Gonſalvo* receiving Intelligence that Monſ. *de la Paliſſa*, who with Three Hundred Lances and Three Hundred Foot was quartered in the Town of *Rubos* twelve Miles from *Barletta*, kept but a looſe Guard, he marched one Night out of *Barletta* and arrived before *Rubos*, where he very quickly placed ſome Artillery which he had brought with him through the plain Road with a great deal Eaſe, and gave an Aſſault with ſuch Vigour that the *French*, who expected nothing leſs, being taken unprovided, were ſo terrified that they made but a weak Defence, and were all with *Paliſſa* taken Priſon-

French Affairs on the decline in *Naples*.

A. D. 1503. Priſoners; and the ſame Day *Gonſalvo* returned to *Barletta*, without Fear of being moleſted in his Retreat by *Nemours*, who was gone to *Canoſa* a few Days before. For the *French* Troops which kept *Barletta* blockaded were quartered at ſuch Diſtances, and, perhaps for their better Conveniency, diſtributed into ſo many Places, that there was no Time to aſſemble them in a ſufficient Body; beſides, Fifty *French* Lances ſent to intercept a Supply of Money that was coming from *Trani* to *Barletta*, were routed by the Convoy which *Gonſalvo* had appointed to guard it.

UPON the Neck of theſe unlucky Accidents happened another, which mightily checked the Forwardneſs of the *French*, who had no Cauſe to lay the Blame on the Malignity of Fortune, ſince the Event muſt be accounted the pure Effect of true Valour and Reſolution. The Matter of Fact was thus: A *French* Trumpet that was ſent to *Barletta* to treat about the Ranſom of ſome Soldiers taken at *Rubos*, heard ſome *Italian* Men at Arms ſpeak in Terms reflecting on his Countrymen. Of this

this he made a Report at his Return to the Camp, which occaſioned an Anſwer to the *Italians*, and both Parties were ſo heated as to kindle a general Reſentment, which had no Way to vent itſelf till it was at length agreed that, for the Honour of their reſpective Nations, Thirteen *French* Men at Arms ſhould enter the Liſts, with as many *Italians* in an open ſecure Place, and combat till the Victory was decided. Accordingly there was a plain Space of Ground appointed between *Barletta*, *Andria*, and *Quadrata*, to which the Champions were conducted by a ſet Number of their Comrades; and, for further Security againſt Ambuſcades, each of the Generals with the greater Part of his Army, accompanied them halfway, animating them, and charging them that, as Men ſelected from the whole Army, they ſhould be ſure to anſwer, both in Heart and Hand, the Expectations conceived of them, which ran ſo high, that in their Hands and in their Valour the Honour of ſuch noble Nations was, by common Conſent, entruſted. The *French* Viceroy animated his Men by reminding them that thoſe they ſaw before

A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503. them, were the very ſame *Italians* who had trembled at the Name of the *French*, and had always taken Care to get out of their Way, without giving them an Opportunity of exerciſing their Valour. How often had they traverſed their Country from the *Alps* to the utmoſt Point of *Italy*; that their Adverſaries had not acquired new Spirits or Vigour, nor were inſpired with a freſh Generoſity of Soul; but being in the Pay of the *Spaniards*, and under their Command, they had not the Power to contradict the Will of their Maſters, who were accuſtomed not to encounter their Enemies with plain Valour, and open Force, but to circumvent them by Wiles and Stratagems, and now intended to be idle Spectators of the Dangers of others. But as ſoon as theſe *Italians* ſhall be brought into the Field, and confronted with the Arms and fierce Looks of thoſe who have always beaten them, their uſual Fright will return, and either they will have no Heart to fight at all, or elſe will fight under ſuch Fear, as to make them an eaſy Prey; the lofty Speeches and vain Bravados of the *Spaniards*,

niards, being but a poor Foundation for raiſing the Spirits, and a very frail Buckler againſt pointed Steel, and the Fury of the Conqueror. *A. D.* 1503.

ON the other Side *Gonſalvo* was heartening and ſtimulating his *Italians* with equally pungent Motives. He recalled to their Mind the antient Glory of their Nation, and the Honours acquired by their Arms, which had rendered them Maſters of the World. It was, ſaid he, in the Power of thoſe few brave Men, who were not inferior in Valour to their Anceſtors, to make it appear to all the World, that *Italy*, the Conquereſs of all Nations, had, for a few Years paſt, been over-run by foreign Armies for no other Reaſon but the Imprudence of its Princes, who prompted by Ambition firſt fell out among themſelves, and then called in Foreigners, to enable them to get the better of one another. The *French*, he told them, had never obtained a Victory in *Italy* by true Valour, but under the Conduct, or by the Arms of the *Italians* themſelves; or by the Fury of their Artillery, the Dread of *Gonſalvo's* animating Speech to the *Italians*.

A. D. 1503. which, as an Inſtrument of War unknown in *Italy*, and not the Fear of their Arms, opened them a Paſſage into the Country. But now they had an Opportunity given them of fighting with Sword and Lance, Body to Body, where each of them had Liberty to diſplay his own perſonal Valour, and be a glorious Spectacle to the chief Chriſtian Nations, and before ſo great a Number of noble Perſons of their own Country, all of whom, as well of one Side as the other, were extremely deſirous that they ſhould get the Victory. * That they ſhould remember that they were trained under the moſt famous Captains of *Italy*, continually exerciſed in Arms, and that there was not a ſingle Perſon of their Number but had given Proofs of his Valour in various Places, and much to his Honour. For them, therefore, it was reſerved, either, by coming off Conquerors, to retrieve the Honour of the *Italian* Nation, and render its Name glorious and formidable, as it had been, not only in the Days of their Anceſtors,

* This is ſaid with relation to the *Italians* in the *French* Army.

Anceſtors, but even in their own Times; or elſe, if Victory was not in the Power of ſuch Hands as theirs, that there could be no Room to hope for better Times, but that *Italy* muſt forever remain in a State of perpetual and ignominious Servitude. * The other Officers and private Soldiers of both Armies were no leſs ſollicitous in ſtimulating their Champions, and kindling their Courage, charging them to ſhew their Bravery, and to behave like themſelves, and worthy of the Confidence repoſed in them, for augmenting, by their own proper Valour, the Glory and Splendor of their Nations. A. D. 1503.

THUS charged and animated the Champions were conducted into the Field, each one full of Ardor, and in high Spirits, where both Parties were incloſed within a Liſt, oppoſite to each other.

* *Giovio*, in his Life of *Gonſalvo*, ſays that *Proſpero Colonna* firſt harangued the *Italian* Champions, and then *Gonſalvo* made a Speech to them. He deſcribes alſo the Manner in which the *Italians* and their Horſes were armed, the Rewards propoſed, and the extraordinary Length of their Lances, which got them the Victory.

A. D. 1503. other *. The Signal being given, they ran furiouſly at each other with their Lances, † in which Encounter none ſeeming to have the Advantage, they laid their Hands to their other Weapons with great Force and Animoſity, each one exerting himſelf in ſo extraordinary a Manner, as to beget in all the Spectators a tacit Confeſſion, that no Soldiers more valiant, nor more worthy to act ſo glorious a Part, could have been ſelected out of both Armies. But when they had combated a good while, and the Ground was covered with Pieces of Armour, and Blood that iſſued out of the Wounds given on both Sides, and the Event was as yet uncertain, all the Beholders keeping a profound Silence, and being almoſt under as much Anxiety and Concern of Mind as the Combatants themſelves, it happened that

* The Field was marked out halfway between *Quadrata* and *Andria* with a Plow-ſhare, and contained a Furlong.

† The *Italians*, *Giovio* ſays, without putting Spurs to their Horſes, reſted their Lances, and in that Poſture expected the Shock of the *French*, who ran themſelves deep upon the Points of the Lances, which were longer than ordinary, before they could reach the Cuiraſſes of their Adverſaries.

that *Guglielmo Albimonte*, * one of the *Italians*, was thrown from his Horſe by a *Frenchman*, who ran fiercely upon him with his Horſe to diſpatch him; but *Franceſco Salamone* running to aſſiſt his Companion, fetched a full Blow at the *Frenchman*, who, being intent on the Slaughter of *Albimonte*, was not on his Guard, which ſtruck him dead on the Spot †. After this he and *Albimonte*, who had recovered himſelf, with *Miale*, who had alſo been wounded, and diſmounted, fell upon ſticking the Enemy's Horſes with long Swords, which they had provided for that Purpoſe, and killed ſeveral of them, by which Means the *Frenchmen* began to have the worſt of the Combat, and at laſt, ſome of the *Italians* took one, ſome another of them, till they were all made Priſoners.

A. D. 1503.

Frenchmen worſted by the *Italians*.

* *Albimonte* and *Sidicino* were puſhed off their Horſes quite without the Liſts; but *Brancaleone* and *Tanfulla*, tho' diſmounted, got upon their Feet, and betook themſelves to their long Swords. *Giovio.*

† This was *Claudio* of *Aſti*, (a City of *Piedmont* in *Italy*, then belonging to the *French*) who met with the juſt Reward of his Folly in fighting for a foreign Nation againſt the Honour of his own Country.

A. D. 1503.

THE Victors were received with joyful Acclamations by their Comrades, and treated by *Gonſalvo*, who met them halfway, with all the Expreſſions of Gladneſs and Reſpect, congratulating each Man in particular, and all in general, as Reſtorers of the *Italian* Honour. They afterwards made their Entry into *Barletta*, in a triumphant Manner with their Priſoners, amidſt the Sound of Drums and Trumpets, and the Noiſe of Cannon, and accompanied with military Shouts and Huzzas. And ſince they have richly deſerved that every *Italian* ſhould do what in him lieth to tranſmit their Names to Poſterity, by the Benefit of Writing, I ſhall give their Names. *Ettore Fieramoſca* of *Capua*; *Giovanni Capaccio*, *Giovanni Brancaleone*, and *Ettore Giovenale*, *Romans*; *Marco Carellario*, of *Naples*; *Mariano*, of *Sarni*; *Romanello*, of *Furli*; *Lodovico Aminale*, of *Terni*; * *Franceſco Salamone*, and *Guglielmo Albimonte*, *Sicilians*;

Names of the *Italian* Combatants.

* He is called *Lodovico Benevoli* of *Tiano*, not of *Terni*, by *Giovio*, who alſo for *Miale* of *Troja* ſubſtitutes *Meiale* of *Tuſcany*, and for *Tanfulla* of *Parma*, *Tito* of *Lodi*.

lians; *Miale* of *Troja*; and *Riccio* and *Tanfulla*, of *Parma*. Theſe Gentlemen were all trained under the King of *Aragon*, or under the *Colonnas*. It is incredible what a Damp this Adventure ſtruck upon the Spirits of the *French* Army, and how it raiſed the Courage of the *Spaniards*, every one preſaging to himſelf, from this Trial of Fortune between a Few, the final Iſſue of the whole War. A. D. 1503.

THE King of *France*, about this Time, met with Diſturbances in *Lombardy* from the *Swiſs*, which were excited, not by the whole Nation, but by the Three Cantons which had ſeized upon *Belinzone*. For theſe People, who would by all means induce the King to conſent to a Ceſſion of that Town to them in Property, made an Attack upon *Lucerna*, and *Murata*, a Wall of a great Length by the *Lago Maggiore*, near *Lucerna*, which obſtructs the Deſcent from the Mountain into the Plain, except through one Gate, which is in the Wall. And tho' at firſt they were repulſed by the *French* appointed to guard theſe Poſts, The *Swiſs* annoy the King of *France*.

A. D. 1503. Poſts, and that *Chaumont* with Eight Hundred Lances and Three Thouſand Foot had taken poſt at *Vareſe* and *Galera*, in hopes to make them abandon their Enterprize; yet their Numbers increaſing by the Acceſſion of the *Griſons*, after ſeveral Aſſaults given in vain, a Detachment of their Forces climbing up a rugged Mountain that commands the *Murata*, conſtrained the Garriſon to abandon it. The *Swiſs* afterwards took the Town of *Lucerna*, but not the Caſtle; and now their Numbers increaſed every Day, for the other Nine Cantons, tho' at the Beginning they had offered the King ſome Troops, in conſequence of the Confederacy that ſubſiſted between them, yet afterwards they began to ſend Succours to the Three Cantons, alledging that they could not excuſe themſelves from aſſiſting their Companions, to which they were obliged by the antient League that ſubſiſted between them, prior to other Engagements contracted with any Power whatſoever. And while, to the Number of Fifteen Thouſand, they beſieged the Caſtle, which the *French*, on account

account of the Narrowneſs of the Paſſes, and the Watchfulneſs of the Guards, were unable to relieve, they employed the reſt of their Men in ravaging the adjacent Country. And being incenſed againſt the Governor of *Muſocco*, a Town belonging to *Gian Jacopo di Trivulzi*, for refuſing to lend them Cannon to batter the Caſtle of *Lucerna*, they plundered the Town of *Muſocco*, but did not attack the Caſtle becauſe it was deemed impregnable. *A. D.* 1503.

THE *French*, on the other hand, were under no ſmall Concern at this Rupture; and having aſſembled all the Troops they had in *Lombardy*, with the Auxiliaries of *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantoua*, demanded of the *Venetians* the Troops ſtipulated for the Defence of the *Milaneſe*; which were ſpeedily promiſed, but ſo ſlowly forwarded, that they were of no Uſe. But *Chaumont* having well provided the Fortreſſes in the Mountains, took Care to encamp in the Plains, in hopes that the *Swiſs*, who, for want of Horſe and Artillery, durſt not deſcend into the open Country, would *French* embroiled with the *Swiſs*.

A. D. 1503. would be tir'd out for Want of Victuals, and becauſe they had no Money, and were without Hopes of performing any thing of Conſequence. In this Condition the *Swiſs* having perſiſted many Days, they grew ſhort of Proviſions; for the *French* with their armed Boats ſunk many of their Barks that brought them Proviſions, ſo that they could be no longer ſupplied by way of the Lake; and they began alſo to diſagree amongſt themſelves, becauſe the Undertaking only concerned thoſe Cantons that poſſeſſed *Belinzone*; to which we may add, that the *Swiſs* Officers were corrupted by *French* Money; ſo they were at laſt content to retire, reſtoring all the Places they had taken in that Expedition, except *Muſocco*, which was not reckoned to belong to the King, and obtained of his Majeſty a Promiſe that *Belinzone* ſhould not be moleſted within a certain Time. The *French* were ſo unwilling to have the *Swiſs* for their Enemies, that they thought it no Shame, not only in the preſent Juncture, when they were at War with the King of *Spain*, and were under Apprehenſions from the King

Peace between them.

King of the *Romans*, and could not truſt the *Venetians*, but at all times to purchaſe the Friendſhip of that Nation with yearly Subſidies and Penſions, both public and private, and to make Treaties with them on diſhonourable Conditions; for they knew very well that they could put no Truſt in the Valour of their own Infantry, and that it was a vaſt Diſadvantage to be at War with a Nation that had nothing to loſe *. A. D. 1503.

THE *French* King having in this manner put an End to the War with the *Swiſs*, was alſo in Hopes of extricating himſelf from the War in the Kingdom of *Naples*. For after much treating and negotiating of Peace between the two Kings without Effect, it happened that *Philip*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, and Prince of *Flanders*, intending to return from *Spain* into his Dominions, reſolved, tho' contrary to the repeated Entreaties of his Father and Mother-in-Law, to take his Journey by

* The *Scythian* Ambaſſadors to *Alexander* the Great, after they had proved themſelves to be the pooreſt of all Nations, ſaid, "Our Poverty, O King, will be nimbler than thy Army."

A. D. 1502. by Land. They gave him, however, full Power and a free Commiſſion to make a Peace with the King of *France*, which he had earneſtly endeavoured to procure while he was in *Spain*. But he took care to have in his Retinue two of their Ambaſſadors, without whoſe Participation he would conclude nothing, nor enter upon any Negotiation. It is incredible with what Magnificence and Honours he was received and entertained wherever he paſſed through the Kingdom of *France*, by the King's Order, with a Deſign not only to render him favourable in the Treaty of Peace, but to gain for ever the good Will of that Prince, who was young, and in Expectation of vaſt Dominions; for he was the likelieſt to ſucceed to the *Roman* Empire, and Heir to the Kingdom of *Spain*, with all its Dependences. The Perſons of Note that were in his Retinue were alſo entertained in the ſame coſtly Manner, and had many valuable Preſents made them. To theſe Demonſtrations of Honour and Reſpect *Philip* was not wanting to make a ſuitable Return, with a Greatneſs of Mind becoming

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a Prince. For the King, beſides giving him his Word of Honour for his ſafe Paſſage through *France*, having ſent ſome of the principal Lords of the Kingdom into *Flanders*, to remain there as a Security till the Prince had paſſed through his Dominions, *Philip*, on his Entrance into that Kingdom, to ſhew his entire Confidence in the King's Faith, ſent Orders for the *French* Hoſtages in *Flanders* to be ſet at Liberty. Theſe extraordinary Demonſtrations of Friendſhip were ſucceeded, as far as lay within their Power, by ſuitable Effects. For after a few Days ſpent in Diſcuſſion of Matters at *Blois*, the Parties concluded a Treaty on the following Conditions: That the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhould be poſſeſſed as it was appointed at the firſt Diviſion, only the Provinces in Diſpute, which had occaſioned the Differences for which the Parties took up Arms, were to be depoſited in *Philip*'s Hands: That from henceforth *Charles*, Son to *Philip* and *Claude* the King's Daughter, whoſe Nuptials formerly negotiated are by this preſent Agreement ratified, ſhall be intitled King and Queen

A. D. 1503.

Treaty of *Blois*.

of

D. A. 1503. of *Naples*, and Duke and Dutchess of *Puglia* and *Calabria*: That the Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, allotted to the King of *Spain* shall, for the future, be governed by the Archduke, and that belonging to the *French* by whomsoever the King shall appoint as his Deputy, but both the one and the other to be held and administered in the Name of the two Minors, to whom, after Consummation of their Marriage, the King would give his Portion in Dowry with his Daughter. This Peace was solemnly published in the great Church at *Blois*, and confirmed upon Oath by the King, and by *Philip* as Proxy for his Father and Mother-in-Law.

HAD this Peace taken Effect, it must certainly have been of vast Importance; for it would not only have obliged two potent Kings to lay down their Arms, but must, in consequence of that Pacification, have produced a Peace between the King of the *Romans* and the King of *France*, which would have put them upon forming new Schemes against the *Venetians*; and

and the Pope, who was obnoxious to all, and ſtood in the worſt Light to every body, was in fear of a Council, and of other Deſigns for depreſſing his Authority. But the King and *Philip* having immediately ſent Expreſſes to the Kingdom of *Naples*, to notify the Peace which had been made, and to command the Generals that, each Party keeping Poſſeſſion of what they held, they ſhould deſiſt from Hoſtilities till the King of *Spain*'s Ratification was arrived, the *French* Generals offered to obey their King's Orders; but the *Spaniſh* Commander, either becauſe he was confident of Victory, or thought that the bare Authority of *Philip* was no ſufficient Warrant, anſwered, That he had not as yet received the like Orders from his Sovereigns, and therefore muſt continue the Operations of War. And he was the more encouraged in his Reſolution becauſe the King of *France*, depending firſt on the Negotiation, and afterwards on the Concluſion of the Peace, and preſuppoſing as certain what was dubious, had not only ſlackened his other Preparations, but ſuſpended the A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503. Embarkation of Three Thouſand Foot, which he had ordered to be ſent by Sea from *Genoa*, with Three Hundred Lances, which were deſigned for that Expedition under the Command of M. *Perſi*. But on the other Side were arrived at *Barletta* Two Thouſand *German* Foot, which were liſted with the Favour of the King of the *Romans*, and embarked at *Trieſte*, whence they were ſafely tranſported over the Gulf of *Venice*, of which the *French* made heavy Complaints to the Senate.

THE Duke of *Nemours*, who could not promiſe himſelf a Suſpenſion of Arms, and was ſo weakened by the Loſſes which he had received but a little before, that if an Opportunity invited, or Neceſſity conſtrained him to come to a Battle, he muſt be overpowered, ſent Orders for all the *French* Troops that were diſperſed about the Country, except thoſe commanded by *Aubigni* in *Calabria*, and for all the Forces of the Lords of the Kingdom to join him. His Deſign, however, in ſome Meaſure miſcarried; for the Duke of *Atri*, and *Lewis d' Ars*, one of the *French* general

general Officers, who had their Troops diſperſed in the Territory of *Otranto*, reſolved to march in a Body to join the Viceroy, becauſe they had Notice that *Pietro Navarra* had poſted himſelf with a ſtrong Body of *Spaniards* in a Place where he might greatly incommode them if they marched ſeparate. But it happened, that *Lewis d'Ars* laid hold of an Opportunity which offered for conducting his Men into a Place of Safety by themſelves, and parted, without regarding the Danger in which he left the Duke of *Atri*. The Duke, thus left alone, receiving Intelligence that *Novarra* had made a Motion towards *Matera*, in order to join *Gonſalvo*, put himſelf on the March with his Troops. But Fortune is not to be controlled by human Prudence; for the Inhabitants of *Rutiliano*, a Town in the Territory of *Bari*, who had juſt about this time revolted from the *French*, had ſent for *Pietro Navarra*, who immediately turned out of his Road towards *Matera*, and marched for *Rutiliano*, till he drew up in Sight of the Duke of *Atri*. The Duke was much ſurpriſed at this Acci- 1503. *A. D.*

A. D. 1503. dent, and ſtood in Suſpenſe how to take his Meaſures. But conſidering that it was not in his Power to ſecure his Retreat without ſome Loſs, and that, tho' he was inferior to the Enemy in Foot, he had a Superiority in Cavalry, and imagining that the *Spaniſh* Infantry were fatigued with their long March by Night, he joined Battle, which was fought with great Reſolution on both Sides, till in the End his Troops were routed, his Uncle *Giovanni Antonio* ſlain, and himſelf taken Priſoner. And as it ſeldom happens that one Misfortune comes alone, Four *French* Gallies commanded by *Prujean* of *Provence*, Knight of *Rhodes*, lay in the Harbour of *Otranto*, with the Leave of the *Venetian* Deputy Governor, who promiſed that they ſhould be ſecure from the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which cruiſed off *Villamarina* and the neighbouring Places. But in a few Days the *Spaniſh* Commodore brought his Fleet into the ſame Harbour, when *Prujean* finding himſelf inferior in Force, and fearing to be boarded, reſolving that his Loſs ſhould not be the Enemy's Gain, landed

landed the Crews, ſunk his Galleys, and with his Men marched up the Country. A. D. 1503.

THE King of *France* had ſent Orders to his Generals to ſtand upon the Defenſive, and avoid coming to Action, aſſuring them that ſhortly they would receive either a Ratification of the Peace, or a powerful Succour. But it was a difficult Matter, when potent Armies lay ſo near one another, to reſtrain the natural Ardor of the *French*, who were impatient at ſeeing the War drawn out to ſuch a Length. And indeed it was ordained that Matters ſhould be brought to a quick Deciſion, and the finiſhing Stroke was ready to be given. The firſt Step towards this Event was in *Calabria*, where the *Spaniards* having united their Forces at *Seminara*, *Aubigni* aſſembled all his Troops, and thoſe of the Lords that were of the *French* Party, and poſted his Infantry in the Town of *Gioia*, Three Miles diſtant from *Seminara*, and his Cavalry at *Loſarno*, at the ſame Diſtance from *Gioia*. On the Bank of a River that runs through *Gioia* he had planted Four Pieces of Cannon, and

A. D. 1503. fortified himſelf in Readineſs to oppoſe the Enemy if they ſhould attempt to paſs. But the Deſign of the *Spaniards* was different from what he ſuppoſed; for the Day they had reſolved to attempt the Paſſage, the Vanguard under *Manuello di Benavida*, took the direct Road toward the River, on the Bank of which he entered into a Parly with *Aubigni*, who had drawn up all his Army on the oppoſite Bank. In the mean time the Rearguard of the *Spaniſh* Army, followed by the Main Body, took another Road, with an Intent to paſs the River a Mile and a half above *Gioia*. The Inſtant that *Aubigni* had diſcovered their Stratagem, he flew in great Haſte, without Artillery, in hopes of coming up to them before they had all paſſed the River. But he found them all got over, and tho' without Cannon, drawn up in firm and cloſe Order of Battle, and in that Diſpoſition moving on to come to an Engagement. The *French*, ſome ſay, were much inferior in Infantry, and, by reaſon of their Haſte, went on in a diſorderly Manner, ſo that they were ſoon broken, and even before the Van-

guard

guard of the *Spaniards* had paſſed the River. *Ambricourt*, and ſome other *French* Officers were taken Priſoners, as alſo the Duke of *Somma*, with many of the *Neapolitan* Barons. *Aubigni* himſelf, tho' he fled and eſcaped into the Caſtle of *Angitola*, was obliged to ſurrender himſelf a Priſoner. He was vanquiſhed and taken on the very ſame Ground, where, but a few Years before, he had obtained a glorious Victory over King *Ferdinando* and *Gonſalvo*. So inconſtant is Fortune in diſpenſing her Favours, and of ſo ſhort a Duration is a Courſe of Proſperity.

A. D. 1503.

Aubigni Overthrown and taken Priſoner.

THIS Defeat of *Aubigni*, who was one of the beſt Generals that attended King *Charles* into *Italy*, and of a generous and noble Spirit, can be aſcribed to nothing elſe but his exceſſive Ardor, and haſty Forwardneſs, in hopes of Victory. The ſame raſh Conduct was the Ruin of the Viceroy in *Puglia*, who was, perhaps, tranſported to a greater Degree of Temerity on account of the News he had received of the Overthrow in *Calabria*.

A. D. 1503. For *Gonſalvo*, who was ignorant of the Victory obtained by the *Spaniards*, and could no longer maintain himſelf in *Barletta*, on account of the Famine and Peſtilence that both raged in that Place, abandoned the ſame, leaving only a ſmall Garriſon, and directed his March towards *Cirignuola*, a Town Ten Miles diſtant, and, as it were, in a Triangle between *Canoſa*, where the Viceroy was, and *Barletta**. It had been much diſputed in a Council of War held by the Viceroy, whether it were more adviſable to ſeek, or avoid an Occaſion of fighting; and ſeveral of the Officers were of Opinion, that the *Spaniards* being newly reinforced, and their own Forces diminiſhed, and ſunk in Spirits and Reputation by a Train of Misfortunes, firſt at *Rubos*, then at *Caſtellaneta*, after that in the Town of *Otranto*, and now, laſt of all, by the Overthrow received in *Calabria*, it was by no means adviſable to hazard an Engagement, but to retire to *Melfi*, or ſome other

* *Cirignuola*, according to *Giovio*, was the antient Caſtle of *Gerione*, and noted for the fruitleſs Attack made upon it by *Annibal*; tho' ſome are of a different Opinion.

other large and plentiful Town, and there wait in expectation from *France*, either of new Reinforcements, or of a Ratification of the Peace. By this Delay, and ſpinning out the Time, they ſhould moreover act in conformity to the King's Orders, which they had but lately received. *A. D.* 1503.

BUT this Advice met with ſtrong Oppoſition from ſeveral, who repreſented the Danger of waiting till the conquering Army ſhould join with *Gonſalvo*, or enter upon ſome important Enterprize, where they would find no Reſiſtance. They recalled to Mind the ſad Event of the Army under *Monpenſier*, who choſe rather to retire into Towns than hazard a Battle; and they had learnt by Experience how tedious and uncertain the Expectation of Succours from *France* was likely to prove. And if, while the Event was as yet dubious, neither *Gonſalvo* had agreed to a Suſpenſion of Arms, nor the King of *Spain* accepted of the Peace, it would be the more difficult to bring them to a Compliance, now they were in full Hopes

A. D. 1503. Hopes of Victory. Their own Army, they ſaid, was not inferior in Strength nor Reſolution to that of the Enemy; and that it was unreaſonable to conclude from Misfortunes, which were owing to their own Neglect, that the ſame Event muſt happen on a fair Trial, where the Cauſe would be managed by the Sword in the open Field, with true Valour and Reſolution, and not with Wiles and Stratagems. That it would be acting a ſafer, as well as more honourable Part, to try the Fortune of the Field, with an equal Chance, or Hopes at leaſt, of Victory, than, in Diſtruſt of their own Strength and Courage, to ſeek their Safety by Retreat; and ſo, by ſuffering themſelves to waſte and conſume away by little and little, give ſure and certain Victory to the Enemy, without Blood or Danger. As for the Orders of the King, who was at a Diſtance, they were to be underſtood as Admonitions rather than as Precepts, and were prudently directed, had they been obſerved by *Aubigni*. But the State of the War being changed by his Misfortune,

fortune, it was neceſſary, in conſequence, to take new Reſolutions. A. D. 1503.

THIS Opinion prevailed in Council; and having received Intelligence by their Spies, that the *Spaniards* had all or part of them left *Barletta*, *Nemours* alſo took the Road to *Cirignuola*, which was very incommodious to both Armies, becauſe thoſe Countries are in great Want of Water, and the Summer was much forwarder than is uſual in the Beginning of *May*; and it is reported, that on the Day of this March ſeveral Perſons in both Armies periſhed on the Road with Thirſt. The *French* knew not whether it was the whole, or only part of the *Spaniſh* Army that was in Motion, becauſe *Fabritio Colonna*, with his light Horſe, prevented all Intelligence from being carried to them; and the upright Lances of the Men at Arms, and the Stalks of Fennel, which, in that Country, are very high, hindered all Proſpect. The *Spaniards* firſt arrived at *Cirignuola*, which was in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, and lodged themſelves in the Vineyards, and by the Advice of *Proſ-*

A. D. 1503. *Proſpero Colonna*, went to work on widening a Ditch which was on their Front. The *French* came up with them, while they were lodging themſelves, and Night approaching, ſtood in Suſpenſe whether they ſhould fall upon them directly, or defer the Attack till the next Day. *Alegre* and the Prince of *Melfi* adviſed the latter Way, in hopes that the *Spaniards* would be neceſſitated, for Want of Victuals, to remove their Quarters, in which caſe, beſides the near Approach of Night, they would avoid the Diſadvantage of forcing them in their Camp, eſpecially as they were ignorant of their Diſpoſition in their Quarters. But *Nemours* in a paſſion rejected this moſt wholeſome Advice, and fell on with great Fury upon the *Spaniards*, and was well ſeconded by the *Swiſs*. By Chance, or deſignedly, the *Spaniſh* Magazine of Powder blew up; on which *Gonſalvo*, with a great Shout, embracing the Omen, cried out aloud, "The Victory is ours, God himſelf has declared it, by giving us a Sign which aſſures us that we ſhall have no more occaſion for the Uſe of Artillery."

VARIOUS

D. A. 1503.

VARIOUS are the Accounts of the Particulars of this Battle. The *French* relate that their Troops, after routing the *Spaniſh* Infantry at the firſt Attack, penetrated to the Enemy's Cannon, and after blowing up the Magazine of Powder, made themſelves Maſters of it; but that Night coming on, their Men at Arms, by Miſtake, fell upon their own Infantry, which put them in ſuch Diſorder, that the *Spaniards* recovered themſelves. But the *Spaniſh* Account informs us, that the *French* found it ſo difficult to paſs the Ditch, that they were entangled one among another, and put to Flight by the Diſorder of their own Troops, as much as by the Valour of their Enemies; that they were put in a great Conſternation by the Death of *Nemours*, who, while he was fighting furiouſly among the foremoſt, and animating his Men to paſs the Ditch, was ſhot dead. Others more particularly relate that *Nemours* finding the Paſſage of the Ditch impracticable, and deſigning to lead about his Troops to the Flank of the *Spaniſh* Camp, in order to make an Attempt

A. D. 1503. tempt on that Side, cried out, " Fall back ", which Words, by thoſe that did not underſtand the Meaning, were interpreted as a Sign for retreating; and his Death happening at the ſame time, while he was in the foremoſt Rank, the whole Army was put to Flight. Some have endeavoured to vindicate the Viceroy from the Reflections caſt upon him, as if he had hazarded an Engagement contrary to the Advice of others of his Officers, by transferring the Blame upon *Alegre*, who charging the Viceroy, who had deſigned not to fight that Day, with Want of Courage, induced him to take a contrary Reſolution. The Battle laſted but a very ſhort Time, and tho' the *Spaniards* paſſed the Ditch in purſuit of the Enemy, yet, it being a dark Night, very few were taken or killed, eſpecially of the Horſe, among whom M. *de Chandiou* was left dead on the Spot. The Remainders of the *French*, with the Loſs of their Cannon and Baggage, ſaved themſelves by Flight, the Officers and Soldiers diſperſing themſelves into different Quarters. There goes a Story, that after the total Diſperſion

ſion of the Enemy, *Gonſalvo* miſſing *Proſpero Colonna*, enquired after him with much Concern, fearing he might be killed in the Action; and that *Fabritio*, with an Intent to tax him with Cowardice, made Anſwer with a Smile, that there was no Reaſon to fear that *Proſpero* had expoſed his Perſon in any Place of Danger. This Victory was obtained the Eighth Day after the Defeat of *Aubigni*, and both Events happened on a *Friday*, a Day obſerved to be fortunate to the *Spaniards*. A. D. 1503.

THE *French*, after collecting their diſperſed Troops, formed various Deſigns, propoſing either to aſſemble together the Remains of their Army, and poſſeſs themſelves of ſome advantageous Poſt for preventing the March of the Conqueror to *Naples*, or to beſtow themſelves in Garriſon for the Defence of that Capital. But as it happens to Men in Adverſity, every Day brings with it greater Fears, and the Vanquiſhed ſtill plunge themſelves into new Difficulties, ſo neither of theſe Projects was put into Execution. For no Place could be found commodious for *French* Affairs irretrievable.

quar-

A. D. 1503. quartering a Body of Forces, except *Naples*, and that City was judged impoſſible to be defended for want of Proviſions. The *French*, indeed, had the Precaution to buy up a vaſt Quantity of Corn at *Rome*, but its Exportation was prevented by the Populace, either to preſerve a Plenty at *Rome*, or, as many are perſuaded, by private Inſtructions from the Pope. The Reſult was, that *Alegre*, with the Prince of *Salerno*, and many others of the Barons, retired between *Gaeta* and *Trajetto*, whither afterwards their Name drew together the greater Part of the Remains of the Army.

GONSALVO, after ſo compleat a Victory, loſt no Time for making the beſt Improvement of his good Fortune, but marched directly for *Naples*; and paſſing by *Melfi*, offered that Prince to leave him in poſſeſſion of his State, if he would eſpouſe the Cauſe of the *Spaniards*. But he rather choſe Liberty to depart with his Wife and Children, and went and joined *Lewis d'Ars*, who was quartered in *Venoſa*. *Gonſalvo*, after taking poſſeſſion of *Melfi*, purſued his March to *Naples*, whence

whence the *French* that were in that City retired on his Approach into *Caſtelnuovo*, and the *Neapolitans*, thus abandoned and left to themſelves, on the Fourteenth Day of *May*, received *Gonſalvo*, as did likewiſe, at the ſame time, *Averſa* and *Capua* *. A. D. 1503.

* The *Neapolitans* ſent Ambaſſadors as far as the Borders of their Territory to meet *Gonſalvo*, and beſeech him to accept of their Submiſſion, which he did, ſubſcribing his Name to a Deed confirming all the Privileges beſtowed on them by former Kings; after which he entered the City in great Pomp, under a Canopy, on the 10th Day of *May*, and received the Oath of Fidelity in the Name of King *Ferdinando*. *Giovio*.

The End of the Fifth Book.

Franceſco Guicciardini's
HISTORY
OF
The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK VI.

THE CONTENTS.

Gonſalvo's *Progreſs in the Reduction of the Kingdom of* Naples. *The King of* France's *Preparations for paſſing into* Italy. *Continuation of the* Piſan *War. Death of Pope* Alexander. *Election and Death of* Pius III. *Promotion of* Julius II. Valentino *attacked in* Rome. Romagna *revolts from him. He is ſent Priſoner into* Spain. *Battle of the* Garigliano. Venetians *make Peace with the* Turk. *Death of King* Federigo, and of the Queen of *Spain. Peace between* France *and* Spain.

A. D. 1503. THE News of theſe Misfortunes arriving in *France* at a Time that the King's Thoughts were more taken up with Peace than War, deeply

deeply affected him, for the Loſs of ſo fine a Kingdom, for the Deſtruction of his Armies, for the Slaughter of ſo many of his Nobility, and ſuch Numbers of experienced Officers. He was alſo apprehenſive of the Dangers to which the reſt of his Dominions in *Italy* became expoſed, and thought it a mighty Diſcredit to his Honour to have been beat by the King of *Spain*, who, without doubt, was inferior in Power to himſelf. But what chiefly raiſed his Indignation, was the Thoughts of his having been deceived under a Colour of Peace. Under theſe Reflections he reſolved to employ his whole Force for recovering his loſt Reputation and Kingdom, and, at the ſame time, for revenging himſelf of ſo great an Injury. But, before he proceeded to Extremities, he complained grievouſly to the Archduke, who was not yet departed from *Blois*, requiring him to take ſuch Meaſures as were ſuitable to the preſent Juncture, if he intended to preſerve his Honour and Credit. As the Archduke was really innocent, and had acted with Sincerity, he writ to the King and Queen

A. D. 1503.

Grief of the King of *France* for his Loſſes.

A. D. 1503. of *Spain*, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, to redreſs theſe Grievances, bitterly complaining how infamous they had made him appear in the Eyes of the World.

CERTAIN it is that, before the Victory, the King and Queen had delayed ſending the Ratification of the Peace, ſometimes pretending that they were not both together in the ſame Place, and that it was neceſſary they ſhould ſign at the ſame Time; and at other times excuſing their Delay on the account of urgent Buſineſs. They were not indeed ſatisfied with the Peace, either becauſe their Son-in-law had gone beyond his Inſtructions, or that, after his Departure from *Spain*, they had further Reaſon to expect their Arms would be ſucceſsful. Beſides, they might, perhaps, think it very ſtrange that the Archduke ſhould ſecure to himſelf their Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, without any Certainty, by reaſon of the tender Age of the betrothed Couple, that the Matrimony of his Son would take effect. They did not, however, abſolutely refuſe to ratify, but conſtantly gave Hopes that they

they would do it, in order to gain Time, and regulate Meaſures according to Events. But after they had received Advice of the Victories obtained by their Forces, tho' they reſolved to diſannul the Peace, yet they deferred acquainting the Archduke with their Intentions, that, by keeping the King of *France* in Suſpenſe, they might retard his Preparations for ſuccouring *Gaeta*, and the other Places that were ſtill in his Poſſeſſion. But being now ſo earneſtly preſſed by their Son-in-law, who proteſted he would not quit *Blois* till they declared themſelves, they thought proper to ſend new Ambaſſadors, who, after conferring ſome Days, made no ſcruple to aſſert, that their Sovereigns had never intended to ratify a Peace, in which neither their Honour or Safety had been conſulted; and, in the Heat of their Diſputes with the Archduke, they flatly told him, that their Majeſties were ſurpriſed that he ſhould have ſo far exceeded their Intentions in the Conditions of Peace. For tho', in regard to his Perſon and Honour, his Commiſſion had been drawn in a free and ample Manner, yet he ought to have

A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503. directed himſelf by his Inſtructions, which were limited. *Philip* anſwered, that his Inſtructions were as free and unlimited as his Commiſſion, and that, on his taking Leave of their Majeſties, they had both poſitively declared, that they deſired and expected Peace thro' his Means, and had ſolemnly ſworn on the holy Goſpel, before the Image of Chriſt crucified, that they would obſerve and ratify whatever ſhould be by him concluded. And yet he had made no Uſe of this ample and unlimited Power, without the Participation and Approbation of the two Perſons whom they ſent to attend him. The Ambaſſadors then, proceeding with the ſame ſort of Artifices, propoſed entering into a new Negotiation of Peace, in which they gave ſome Intimations of reſtoring the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Federigo*. But *Lewis* being ſenſible, that ſuch Propoſals were not only vain, but inſidious, as tending to alienate the Affections of the Archduke, who was intent on obtaining the Kingdom of *Naples* for his Son, from his Majeſty's Perſon, anſwered the Ambaſſadors, in a public Audience, that

that he would not vouchſafe to lend the leaſt Ear to their new Propoſals till they had firſt ratified the Articles of the Peace, and had teſtified their Diſpleaſure at the Diſorders conſequent upon their Refuſal; adding, that it appeared to him not only ſtrange, but odious and abominable, for thoſe Monarchs, who gloried ſo much in having acquired the Title of Catholic, to pay ſo little Regard to their own Honour, to their Oath, and to Religion; and that they ſhould have ſo little Reſpect for the Archduke, a Prince of ſuch Greatneſs, high Birth, and Valour, and alſo their Son and Heir. With this Anſwer the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed that very Day, and the King converted all his Time and Thoughts on making Proviſions for a War, which he deſigned to proſecute with greater Fleets and Armies than had been ever prepared by any King of *France*. A. D. 1503.

IT was reſolved then to ſend a powerful Army, and a ſtrong Fleet, to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and in the mean time, for preſerving *Gaeta* and the Caſtles

A. D. 1503. of *Naples*, to ſend by Sea an immediate Succour of Troops, with all Neceſſaries. And to prevent any Recruits from *Spain*, the Source from which the War had been maintained, two Armies were ordered to be got in Readineſs for invading that Kingdom by Land, one of which was to enter the County of *Rouſſillon*, which lies on the *Mediterranean*, the other to penetrate into the Country towards *Fonterabia*, and the circumjacent Places ſituated along the Ocean: A Fleet alſo was to be equipped at the ſame time, to infeſt the Coaſts of *Catalonia* and *Valentia*.

Siege of *Caſtelnuovo*.

WHILST theſe Preparations were carrying on with the utmoſt Diligence, *Gonſalvo*, wholly intent on getting Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles of *Naples*, erected a Battery againſt *Caſtelnuovo*, at the Foot of Mount *San Martino*, on a raiſed Eminence, from which he battered the Citadel, which was ſituated over-againſt the ſaid Mount, its Walls, were of an antient Structure, and ſeemed to have their Foundations above Ground. The *Spaniards* erected alſo another Battery on the Tower

Tower of *San Vincentio*, which *Gonſalvo* had taken a few Days before, from whence they battered the Walls of the Caſtle, and at the ſame time *Pietro Navarra* was working at a Mine for ruining the Wall of the Citadel. A. D. 1503.

CASTEL-NUOVO was built in another Form than it appears in at preſent. The Citadel being now removed, there begins a new Circuit of Walls where thoſe of the Citadel ſtood, which extends through the Square of the Caſtle as far as the Sea. This Compaſs of Wall was begun by *Federigo*, and carried as high as the Baſtion, and having a good Foundation, and being built of good Materials, cannot now be eaſily mined, becauſe it is well countermined throughout, and alſo becauſe the Waters of the Ditch are almoſt even with the Ground.

GONSALVO deſigned, after he had taken the Citadel, to lodge himſelf on the Counterſcarp of the Wall of the Caſtle, and endeavour to blow it up with his new Mines. But the Raſhneſs or Ill-Forune of

A. D. 1503. of the *French* ſaved him that Trouble. For the Mine that he had worked under the Citadel being brought to Perfection, and ſprung by *Navarra*, a great Opening was made in the Wall, and the *Spaniards*, who were drawn up in Expectation of the Event, partly through the Breach, and partly by Scaling-Ladders, entered the Citadel at once in different Places. On the other Side, the *French* ſallying out of the Caſtle, to prevent the Beſiegers from making a Lodgment in the Citadel, were ſoon overpowered, and retired to the Ravellin. The *Spaniards* followed, and entering Pell Mell with them, with the ſame Reſolution advanced to the Gate, which had not then the great Tower that is ſeen at preſent; that having been built ſince by *Gonſalvo*. This bold Attempt ſo terrified the already diſpirited *French*, that in leſs than half an Hour they delivered up the Caſtle, (in which was repoſited a great Quantity of rich Effects) and their Perſons at Diſcretion; Count *Montorio* and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction were made Priſoners. This Acquiſition happened very ſeaſonably, for the next Day there appeared

Caſtel Nuovo taken.

ſix

ſix large *Genoeſe* Ships, and a great Number of Tranſports, loaded with Proviſions, Arms and Ammunition, with 2000 Soldiers on board. On their Approach the *Spaniſh* Fleet in the Port of *Naples* retired to the Iſle of *Iſchia*, where it was followed by the *French* Fleet as ſoon as they were informed of the Loſs of *Caſtel-nuovo*. But the *Spaniards*, that they might not be forced to engage, having ſunk ſome Barks at the Entrance of the Harbour, to prevent the Approach of the Enemy's great Ships, after a little cannonading on both Sides, the *French* Fleet retired to *Gaeta*, and the *Spaniards* returned into the Mole of *Naples* *. A. D. 1503.

As ſoon as *Gonſalvo* had taken *Caſtel-nuovo*, he applied himſelf to ſubdue the reſt of the Kingdom; and without waiting for the Army from *Calabria*, which, to remove all Impediments in their Progreſs, was employed in reducing the Vale of *Ariano*, he ſent *Proſpero Colonna* into the

* *Giovio* aſcribes the Glory of ſaving the *Spaniſh* Fleet to a Lady, *Coſtanza Davala* by Name, who from an Eminence fired a Battery on the *French* Fleet.

A. D. 1503. the *Abruzzi*, and leaving *Navarra* to beſiege *Caſtel dell Uovo*, marched in Perſon with the reſt of the Forces to *Gaeta*, the Taking of which would give the finiſhing Stroke to the War, as both the Hopes, and Deſpair of the *French* were centered in the Preſervation or Loſs o that maritime City, which was of a conſiderable Strength, and had a very capacious Harbour, which lay very commodious for the Reception of Naval Armaments from *Provence* and *Genoa*. The *French* however were not all confined in *Gaeta*, add the adjacent Towns. In *Abruzzi* they poſſeſſed *Aquila*, the Caſtle of *Evandro*, aud ſeveral other Places. *Lewis d' Ars* had got together a good Body of Horſe and Foot, and fortified himſelf in *Venoſa*, together with the Prince of *Melfi*, and ravaged the whole Country about him. *Roſſano* alſo and *Matalona*, and many other ſtrong Places that belonged to the Barons of the *Anjouin* Party, conſtantly perſevered in their Devotion to the King of *France*.

PIETRO NAVARRA, in the mean Time,

Time, had got together a good Number of covered Boats, under Shelter of which he approached the Walls of *Caſtel dell' Uovo* with greater Safety, and mined them on the Side that is oppoſite to *Pizzifalcone*, before the Garriſon knew what he was about. When the Mine was ſprung it blew up Part of the Rock, with all the Men that were on it, which ſo terrified the Garriſon, that they immediately ſurrendered that Fortreſs. * *Navarra*, gained great Credit at this Siege, and ſtruck a Terror into all; for as it is natural for Men to be more terrify'd at new Methods of attacking, when no Ways have been yet invented for reſiſting the Attack, they thought it impoſſible for any Walls or even Rocks to reſiſt the Force of ſuch Mines. And certainly it muſt appear with a very dreadful Face, that by the Force of Gunpowder which lodged in a hollow Place, is properly called a Mine, the moſt ſolid and ponderous Walls ſhould be ſhattered and thrown down.

A. D. 1503.

Caſtel dell' Uovo beſieged, and taken.

MINES

* *Giovio*, writes that the Governor and his Council were blown up whilſt they were conſulting in the Chapel.

A. D. 1503. MINES were firſt uſed in *Italy* by the *Genoeſe* at the Siege of *Sarzanello*, then in Poſſeſſion of the *Florentines*, in 1487. It is ſaid that *Navarra*, at that Time only a common Soldier, aſſiſted at the Siege, where a Mine was ſprung in like Manner, and made ſome Openings in the Wall, but not having been carried under the Foundation as far as was neceſſary the Caſtle held out, and the like Experiment had not been tried till on theſe late Occaſions.

The firſt Uſe of Mines in *Italy*.

ON *Gonſalvo*'s Approach to *Gaeta*, *Allegre*, who had diſtributed 400 Lances and 9000 Foot, the Reliques of the late Battle, into *Gaeta*, *Fondi*, *Itri*, *Trajetto*, and Fort *Guglielma*, withdrew them all into *Gaeta*, whither were retired alſo the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano*, the Duke of *Trajetto*, and many other Barons of the Kingdom, who had before joined the *French* General.

GONSALVO, having firſt made himſelf Maſter of all theſe Towns, together with the Caſtle of *San Germano*, encamped

Siege of *Gaeta*.

camped with his Army in the Suburbs of *Gaeta*, and erected his Batteries, which play'd very furiouſly on the Walls, towards the Port, and on the Side of the Mount, vulgarly called Mount *Orlando*, which is contiguous to, and overlooks the Town. This Mount, which was afterwards by *Gonſalvo* ſurrounded with a Wall, was at preſent fortified by the *French* with Ramparts and Baſtions of Earth. The General having attempted twice in vain to carry the Mount by Storm, deſiſted from a general Aſſault on the Day he had determined, being apprehenſive that the Conqueſt of the Place would prove very difficult, on account of the Number and Reſolution of the Defendants. He conſidered alſo that if he ſucceeded in taking the Mount, the Troops might be the more endanger'd, for they would be then expoſed to the Fire of the Cannon from the Monaſtery, and other elevated Places upon the Mount. Therefore quitting that Side, he continued battering the Walls of the Town, which was at the ſame time annoyed from the Sea; for Don *Ramondo di Cardona* with 18 *Spaniſh* Gallies lay before the

A. D. 1503.

A. D 1503. the Port. But a few Days after there appeared a Fleet of ſix large *Genoeſe* Veſſels, with ſix other Ships, and ſeven Gallies full of Proviſions and Soldiers, on which alſo was on board the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who was appointed Viceroy after the Death of the Duke of *Nemours*. The King of *France*, out of his great Care and Sollicitude for preſerving *Gaeta*, had in a few Days tranſported, partly on theſe Veſſels, and partly on ſome others, that ſoon after entered the Port, 1000 *Corſicans* and 3000 *Gaſcons*. On the Arrival of this Succour, the *Spaniſh* Fleet was obliged to retire to *Naples*, and *Gonſalvo*, after ſuch Supplies, deſpairing of Succeſs, drew off his Army to the Mole of *Gaeta* and to *Caſtellone* *, from whence he kept *Gaeta* blockaded at large, having loſt a great many Men, partly by Sallies, and partly in his Retreat, and amongſt the reſt Don *Ugo di Cardona*, who was killed by a Cannon Ball.

The Siege of *Gaeta* raiſed.

BUT the *Spaniards* had better Succeſs in

* *Caſtellone* was *Cicero*'s delicious Seat, then called *Formiano*.

in other Parts of the Kingdom. For *Prospero Colonna* had taken the Caſtles of *Evandro* and *Aquila*, and ſubdued all the Country of the *Abruzzi*. The beſt Part of *Calabria* had alſo ſubmitted by Virtue of an Agreement newly made with Count *Capaccio*, ſo that nothing remained but *Roſſano* and *Santa Severina*, in which the Prince of *Roſſano* was beſieged. A. D. 1503.

The Affairs of *Piſa*.

All this while the other Parts of *Italy* were not entirely free from Appreheniions and Troubles. For the *Florentines* before the Rout of the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, jealous of the Forces and Artifices of the Pope and *Valentino*, beſides augmenting their Troops, had taken into their Pay, for General of their Armies, tho' without that Title, the Bailiff of *Caen*, an Officer of Note, with Fifty *French* Lances that ſerved under him. By this Meaſure they expected to frighten their Neighbours, imagining they would be kept in ſome Awe, and not venture to aſſiſt the *Piſans*, when they ſaw they were countenanced by the King of *France*, who permitted

A. D. 1503. his Officers and Soldiers to ſerve in their Army. They alſo flattered themſelves that this Step would contribute to their obtaining with leſs Difficulty the Royal Aid, if required.

Vico Piſano taken by the *Florentines.*

ON the General's Arrival, after muſtering their Army, they went a ſecond Time and deſtroyed and laid waſte the Corn-Fields in the *Piſan*, but not throughout the whole Country, becauſe the Entrance into the *Valdiſerchio* was too hazardous to attempt, as being ſituated between the Mountains and the Waters, and half way between *Lucca* and *Piſa*. After this Deſolation they beſieged *Vico Piſano*, and took it with great Eaſe. For the Bailiff threatning a Hundred *French* Men, who were part of the Garriſon, that they ſhould be treated as Enemies to their King, if they made any Reſiſtance, and promiſing them at the ſame Time a Month's Pay if they retired, they quitted the Place, which put the reſt under a neceſſity of ſurrendering at Diſcretion. They immediately afterwards inveſted the *Verrucola*, where there was but a ſlender

der Garriſon, in order to prevent any new Reinforcement; and having afterwards with great Difficulty brought the Artillery over rugged Mountains, it no ſooner began to play, than the few Defenders capitulated, on Condition of Safety for their Perſons and Effects *. *A. D.* 1503.

Verrucola taken.

THE *Verrucola*, which is a ſmall Fortreſs, erected on a high Mountain, was of great Importance in the long War carried on in the Territory of *Piſa* on Account of its Situation. For being but five Miles diſtant from *Piſa*, it lies not only convenient for infeſting the Country even to the very Gates of the Capital, but is alſo of great Service, becauſe it preſents a View of all the Troops, whether Horſe or Foot, that iſſue out of the Town; which had induced *Pagolo Vitelli* and others to attempt it ſeveral Times before, but without Succeſs. The Hopes which the *Piſans* entertained that *Vico Piſano*

* The *Verrucola* ſurrendered to the *Florentines*, *June* 18, 1503, at Diſcretion, after a Siege of three Days; the Beſiegers immediately afterwards ſet about fortifying it, ſo as to render it impregnable. *Buonac.*

A. D. 1503. would ſuſtain a long Siege, was the Occaſion why the *Verrucola*, which could not have been beſieged whilſt *Vico* held out, was not better provided. The *Piſans* were greatly terrified at the Loſs of the *Verrucola*, yet tho' they had received ſuch great Loſſes, and had very few Foreign Soldiers, and laboured under Want of Money and a Scarcity of Proviſions, yet they could not think of ſubmitting to the *Florentines*, particularly becauſe, as they were conſcious of the Damages and Injuries they had done them, they deſpaired of being forgiven. Thoſe at the Helm thought it neceſſary to encourage with all poſſible Care and Artifice this Notion amongſt the People: For the Peaſants, whoſe Aſſiſtance was neceſſary for their Defence, thought it a very hard Caſe to be deprived of their Harveſt. Wherefore for their Comfort, and to amuſe thoſe amongſt the People who knew better how to get their Living in Times of Peace than of War, falſe Letters were produced, and ſeveral Stratagems uſed, ſuch as mixing falſe Reports with true, and interpreting all new Events in *Italy* to their Advantage, for-

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ever-ſpreading Rumours, that ſometimes one Prince, and ſometimes another, was on the Point of marching to their Aſſiſtance. Nor were they indeed in their Diſtreſs quite deſtitute of the Aid and Succour of the *Genoeſe* and *Luccheſe*, the antient Enemies of the *Florentines*, and of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who was not over grateful for the Favours he had received from the *Florentines* *. But, what was of much greater Importance, they ſecretly received ſome Help from *Valentino*, who fed them with hopes of much greater. He had long ſince coveted the Sovereignty of this City, but had hitherto ſmothered his Deſign for fear of provoking the King of *France*; but now, emboldened by the late Misfortunes of the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples*; with Conſent of his Father, he treated with the *Piſan* Ambaſſadors, who

A. D. 1503.

Valentino aſpires at the Sovereignty of *Piſa*.

* The *Genoeſe*, *Luccheſe*, and *Seneſe*, agreed together to aſſiſt the *Piſans*, being apprehenſive that if the *Florentines* ſhould make themſelves Maſters of *Piſa*, they ſhould loſe all Hopes of recovering the Places detained from them; as particularly the *Genoeſe* claimed *Sarzana* and *Sarzanello*, the *Seneſe Montepulciano*, and the *Luccheſe Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*. The Diſtruſts and Jealouſies on theſe Accounts occaſioned infinite Perplexities in the Affairs of *Piſa*. *Buonac.*

A. D. 1503. who had been ſent to *Rome* for that Purpoſe, about accepting the Dominion of their Town, now extended his ambitious Views to the Acquiſition of all *Tuſcany*. The *Florentines* and the *Seneſe* greatly ſuſpected that he entertained ſuch Deſigns, yet, the publick Good giving way to private Intereſt, the Treaty of Union, propoſed by the King of *France*, between the *Florentines*, *Bologneſe*, and *Seneſe*, was at a Stand, becauſe the *Florentines* refuſed to agree without the Reſtitution of *Montepulciano*, as had been at firſt propoſed and promiſed. And *Pandolfo Petrucci* being averſe to this Reſtitution, tho' he pretended the contrary, gave out that ſuch a Step would incenſe the *Seneſe* againſt him to ſuch a Degree, that he ſhould be obliged again to leave that City. It was his Advice therefore, as more beneficial to the common Cauſe, to defer this Reſtitution till a more proper Juncture, as the reſtoring it now would facilitate *Valentino*'s Deſign of ſeizing on *Siena*. And thus, by delaying without refuſing, he endeavoured to induce the *Florentines* to accept of Hopes inſtead of Effects, But theſe Excuſes,

Excuſes, tho' not admitted at *Florence*, were by Means of *Franceſco di Narni*, who by the King's Order had continued at *Siena*, received and credited in the Court of *France*. But the Pope and *Valentino* were reſolved not to venture on theſe Enterprizes, any further than as they ſhould be directed and encouraged by the Progreſs of the Army which was getting ready in *France*, according to which they had determined to adhere to one King more than another. Many were their Conſultations, and various their Thoughts on the preſent Occaſion, but they avoided as much as poſſible to declare their Mind, for, unleſs compelled by Force, they were not inclined to favour *France* *. For the Experience they had had of that King in the Affairs of *Bologna* and *Tuſcany*, deprived them of all Hopes of making farther Acquiſitions with his Approbation; and on that Account, even before the

A. D. 1503.

* The Pope and his Son had conceived ſuch an Averſion to the King of *France*, that when the *French* Ambaſſador at *Rome* had provided great Quantities of Proviſion to be ſent to the Garriſons in *Naples*, the Pope dealt underhand with the Conſervators of *Rome*, to prohibit the Exportation. *Baonac.*

A. D. 1503. Victory of the *Spaniards*, they had begun to grow every Day colder in their Affections towards him; and after that Victory, their Preſumption increaſing, they had no longer that Regard as uſual to his Will and Authority. And tho' they had, immediately after the Defeat of the *French*, declared their Intention of eſpouſing the Party of the King of *France*, and made a Show of liſting Soldiers to be ſent into the Kingdom of *Naples*, yet their Inclinations were bent upon new Conqueſts, and they knew not how to turn away their Eyes, nor divert their Thoughts from *Tuſcany*; ſo that when they were ſollicited by the King to declare themſelves openly in his Favour, the Pope anſwered in ſuch ambiguous Terms, as rendered both him and his Son every Day more and more ſuſpected. Their Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation were indeed ſo notorious in the Court of *Rome*, as to make it a common Proverb, That the Pope never did as he ſaid, and *Valentino* never ſaid as he did.

A. D. 1503.

THE Quarrel of the Pope and his Son with *Giangiordano* was not as yet compoſed, for tho' *Valentino*, for fear of the King's Diſpleaſure, in Obedience to his Orders, had deſiſted from giving him further Trouble, yet the Pope continued very uneaſy, and never ceaſed ſolliciting the King for Leave, either to diſpoſſeſs *Giangiordano* of his whole Eſtate by Force of Arms, or oblige him to accept of an Equivalent; proteſting, at the ſame time, that this Requeſt did not proceed from Ambition, but from very juſt Reaſons which he had to be afraid of his Vicinity. For as there had been diſcovered amongſt the Papers of Cardinal *Orſino* a blank Sheet, underwritten by *Giangiordano*'s own Hand, it was reaſonable to conclude, that the Affair of the Treaty of *Magione* was carried on with his Knowledge and Conſent, as much as of any of the *Orſini*. The King conſulting his Intereſt more than his Honour, had proceeded in *Giangiordano*'s Cauſe according to the Diverſity of Times, ſometimes ſeeming as favourable to him as ever, at others

A. D. 1503. others inclined to ſatisfy, in ſome meaſure, the Pope. For when *Giangiordano* refuſed to depoſit *Bracciano* into the Hands of the *French* Ambaſſador reſiding in *Rome*, the King inſiſted on being Umpire of the Controverſy, and that *Giangiordano* ſhould take a Journey into *France* within Two Months, and that no Innovation ſhould be made till he had given his Deciſion. *Giangiordano*'s Situation obliged him to comply, in hopes that his Father's Merits and his own would wholly free him from the Pope's Vexations. The Pope alſo agreed, but rather out of Fear than any other Motive; for the King made this Requeſt at the Time that the Archduke had contracted the Peace in the Name of the King of *Spain*. But the State of Affairs being now altered by the Victory of the *Spaniards*, and *Alexander* knowing how neceſſary he ſhould be to the King, demanded *Giangiordano*'s whole Eſtate for what Equivalent his Majeſty thought fit. *Lewis*, for the ſame Reaſon, had prevailed on *Giangiordano* to agree, tho' unwillingly, and to promiſe to ſend him his Son as an Hoſtage

Hoſtage for the Performance of what he ſhould determine; but the King did not intend to give up his Eſtate to the Pope, unleſs his Holineſs did at the ſame time openly declare for him, and join his Forces in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But the People of *Pitigliano*, where the Son of *Giangiordano* reſided, refuſing to deliver him to M. *de Trans*, the King's Ambaſſador, who was arrived at *Porto Ercole* to receive him, *Giangiordano*, being returned, went himſelf to *Porto Ercole*, to make an Offer of his own proper Perſon to the Ambaſſador, who unadviſedly accepted of the Propoſal, and ſent him on board a Ship; but the King, as ſoon as he had notice of it, ordered him to be immediately ſet at Liberty. *D. A.* 1503.

LEWIS, in the mean time, was haſtening his Preparations to act on both Sides the Mountains, and had ſent Monſ. *d'Albret* and Marſhal *Gies*, with Four Hundred Lances, and Five Thouſand Foot, part *Swiſs* and part *Gaſcons*, into *Guienne*, to open the Campaign towards *Fonterabia*; and Marſhal *Ruis* of *Britany*, with Eight Hundred

King of *France* ſends Troops againſt *Spain*.

A. D. 1503. Hundred Lances and Eight Thouſand Foot, part *Swiſs* and part *French*, into *Languedoc*, in order to make an Invaſion into the County of *Rouſſillon*. At the ſame time a Fleet was ſailing with Orders to infeſt the Coaſts of *Catalonia*, and the Kingdom of *Valentia*. Monſ. *de la Tremouille*, who was univerſally allowed to be the beſt Officer in the Kingdom of *France*, was ſent into *Italy*, and the Bailiff of *Dijon* into *Swiſſerland*, to get in Readineſs Eight Thouſand *Swiſs*, and the Gens d' Armes and the Foot were eager to begin their March. The Army, however, was not ſo powerful as was firſt intended, not for Want of Strength, or with a View to ſave Expences, but, as Speed was the principal Requiſite, that it might arrive the ſooner in the Kingdom of *Naples*; and partly becauſe *Alegre*, in making his Report of the State of that Kingdom, had repreſented the Remains of the Army to be much ſtronger than in Reality they were, and the Towns ſtill held by the *French* and the Barons to be much ſteadier than afterwards appeared; and becauſe he had demanded Auxiliaries from

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all the Powers in *Italy* that eſpouſed the *French* Cauſe. *A. D.* 1503.

In compliance with this Demand, the *Florentines* ſent the Bailiff of *Caen* with the Fifty Lances in their Pay, and One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms. The Duke of *Ferrara*, the *Bologneſe*, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who was ordered by the King to attend in Perſon, and the *Seneſe*, ſent each of them One Hundred Men at Arms. All theſe, together with Eight Hundred Lances, and Five Thouſand *Gaſcons*, conducted into *Italy* by *Tremouille*, with Eight Thouſand *Swiſs* which were expected, and thoſe in *Gaeta*, made up an Army of Eighteen Hundred Lances between *French* and *Italians*, and above Eighteen Thouſand Foot *. Beſides theſe Preparations by Land, the King had a very powerful Fleet at Sea; ſo that computing the Armaments, both by Sea and Land, on this Side and beyond the Mountains, it was generally allowed,

* *Buonac.* ſays Thirteen Hundred Lances, under the Command of three Generals, the Marquis *de la Tremouille*, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and M. *de Sandricourt*.

A. D. 1503 allowed, that no King of *France* had ever before made more powerful Preparations.

BUT it was not thought ſafe for the royal Army to march beyond *Rome*, if the King were not firſt ſecure of the Pope and *Valentino*, whom he had very juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect for many Reaſons, and manifeſt Tokens. For long before this time, by intercepted Letters from *Valentino* to *Gonſalvo*, it was diſcovered, how they had concerted between them, that *Gonſalvo*, after the Conqueſt of *Gaeta*, which would put the Affairs of *Naples* in a State of Security, ſhould march with his Army forwards; that *Valentino* ſhould ſeize upon *Piſa*, and that afterwards he and *Gonſalvo* ſhould with joint Forces invade *Tuſcany*. Wherefore the King, after his Army was arrived in *Lombardy*, inſiſted with great Warmth on their declaring their ultimate Reſolution. They gave Ear to, and treated with both Parties, imagining they had a fair Opportunity of making an advantageous Traffick of the Misfortunes of others. They were, indeed,

deed, inclined to join the *Spaniards*, but were deterred by their Fears that the *French* Army would fall upon their Dominions, in which caſe, inſtead of Rewards and Empire, as they expected, they would meet with nothing but Loſſes and Vexations. In this Perplexity, they gave Leave for both Sides to make public Levies in *Rome*, and deferred, as long as they were able, to declare themſelves *. But at laſt, being cloſely preſſed by the King, they agreed that *Valentino* ſhould join the royal Army with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thouſand Foot, provided the King gave Conſent, that they ſhould not only take Poſſeſſion of *Giangiordano*'s Eſtate, but alſo make a Conqueſt of *Siena*. But when Matters were almoſt brought to a Concluſion, they flew off from the Point in Hand, and ſtarted new Difficulties, with a View to

A. D. 1503.

* *Buonacorſi* writes, that the *Spaniards* only were permitted to enliſt Men in *Rome*, and that they killed ſeveral *French* for offering to make Levies there; that the Pope took no notice of theſe Diſorders, and that the *French* Ambaſſador, and Cardinal *Sanſeverino*, by his Direction, were attacked, and narrowly eſcaped being cut in Pieces, in their Return one Evening from Supper at a Vineyard.

A. D. 1503. to regulate their Meaſures, according to Cuſtom, by Events of Things, avoiding by all means to declare themſelves. Wherefore they ſet on Foot a new Treaty, in which it was propoſed, that the Pope, as common Father, ſhould remain neuter; that the *French* Army ſhould have Leave to paſs through the eccleſiaſtic State; and the Pope promiſed that, during the *Neapolitan* War, he would not attack the *Florentines*, *Seneſe*, nor *Bolognese*. The King was ſo deſirous of marching his Army, without any Delay, into the Kingdom of *Naples*, that he would have accepted of theſe Conditions, tho' he knew they were neither honourable or ſafe for him or his *Italian* Allies; for he had no Security that, if any Misfortune ſhould happen to his Forces in that Kingdom, the Pope and *Valentino* would not turn their Arms againſt him. Neither could he be ſure that, when his Army had paſſed the *Roman* Territory, they would ſtand to their Engagement, and not aſſault *Tuſcany*, which, on account of the Diſunion that reigned amongſt thoſe People, and the Auxiliaries ſent to

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the royal Army, was but weak, and in a manner defenceleſs. And there were good Grounds to believe, that they intended to go upon this, or ſome other Enterprize, ſince they had propoſed to themſelves vaſt Advantages from ſo favourable a Juncture *. A. D. 1503.

BUT, alas! how vain and fallacious are the Projects of Men! The Pope, in the Height of his aſpiring Hopes, is unexpectedly carried home for dead to the pontifical Palace, from a Vineyard near the Vatican, where he had been at Supper, to regale himſelf in the time of the Summer Heats; and immediately after him his Son is brought along in the ſame expiring Condition. The Day following, which was the 18th of *Auguſt*, the Pope's Corps, according to pontifical Cuſtom, is carried into St. *Peter*'s Church, all ſwelled, black, and monſtrouſly frightful; ſure Marks of Poiſon. But *Valentino*,

* *Valentino* had given Orders to his Troops that were quartered on the upper Borders of the *Florentine* Dominions, to aſſemble at *Perugia*, in order, as ſoon as the *French* Army was paſſed forward, to make a ſudden Attack upon *Florence*. *Buonac.*

A. D. 1503. aſſiſted by the Strength and Vigour of Youth, and by the immediate Adminiſtration of potent Antidotes, appropriated to the Poiſon, ſaved his Life, tho' he continued for a long time in a very bad State of Health.

IT was univerſally believed, that Poiſon was the Cauſe of this Accident, which, according to common Report, happened in the following manner. *Valentino*, who was to be one of the Gueſt, had reſolved on poiſoning *Adriano*, the Cardinal of *Corneto*, in whoſe Vineyard the Supper was prepared. It is no matter of Secret, that it was a uſual Cuſtom, both of Father and Son, to diſpatch by Poiſon, not only ſuch as they had reſolved to ſacrifice to their Revenge and Jealouſy, but any Perſons of great Subſtance, whether Cardinals or other Courtiers, whoſe Riches tempted their wicked Avarice. Innocence was no Protection, as appeared in the Caſe of the wealthy Cardinal of *St. Agnolo*; nor did they better eſcape who were their moſt intimate Friends, and neareſt Acquaintance, and ſome of them, as the Cardi-

Cardinals of *Capua* and *Modena*, moſt faithful and ſerviceable Miniſters. *A. D.* 1503.

THE Story continues thus related: *Valentino* had ſent away before Supper ſome Flaſks of Wine infected with Poiſon, which were intruſted to a Waiter, who was ignorant of the Matter, with ſtrict Orders not to open them for any one. The Pope happened to arrive before the Time of Supper, and being almoſt ſpent with Thirſt, the Seaſon being extremely hot, aſked for ſomething to drink. The Proviſions for the Supper not being yet brought from the Palace, the Waiter, who imagined that the Wine in his Cuſtody was reſerved as ſome of the choiceſt of Wines, preſented ſome of it to his Holineſs. While the Pope was drinking, *Valentino* arrived, and joining Company, took a Draught of the ſame Wine *. Pope how poiſoned.

* *Giovio*, in the Second Book of his Hiſtory, ſays that the Poiſon which *Alexander* uſed for diſpatching others, and by which he was at laſt killed himſelf, was a very white Powder, not ungrateful to the Taſte, which by degrees mixing with the Blood, was of a ſlow, but mortal Operation. Some have written, that this Tragedy happened at Supper, and that the Butler miſtook the Flaſk.

A. D. 1503.

THE whole City of *Rome* ran together with incredible Alacrity, and crowded about the Corpſe in St. *Peter's* Church, and were not able to ſatisfy their Eyes at the Sight of a dead Serpent, who with his immoderate Ambition, and deteſtable Treachery; with manifold Inſtances of horrid Cruelty, and monſtrous Luſt; and expoſing to ſale all Things without Diſtinction, both ſacred and profane *, had intoxicated the whole World. And yet this Man aſcended to his Greatneſs in a continued Courſe of Proſperity, very rarely ſeen, which attended him from his earlieſt Youth till his laſt Scene of Life. He always aimed at the higheſt Matters, and his Attainments exceeded his Wiſhes. His Example may be of Uſe to humble the Pride of thoſe who preſume, by the weak Lights of human Underſtanding, to ſearch into the Depths of the Divine Judgments, and aſſert that whatever befals Mankind in this Life, whether proſperous

His Character.

* Hence the following Paſquinade:

Vindit Alexander *claves, Altaria, Chriſtum:*
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure poteſt.

perous or adverſe, proceeds from their Merits or Demerits; as if it were not manifeſt from daily Experience, that many good Men are unjuſtly depreſſed under a Load of Afflictions, and the Wicked unworthily exalted to Riches and Honours; and as if to interpret Events in a contrary Senſe, were derogatory to the Juſtice and Power of God, which are not reſtrained within the narrow Limits of this preſent Life, but will at another Time, and in another State, diſtinguiſh the Juſt from the Unjuſt by an ample Diſtribution of Rewards and Puniſhments. *A. D.* 1503.

Valentino in a declining State of Health and Fortune.

VALENTINO, in the mean time, while he lay dangerouſly ill in the Palace, ſummoned all his People about him. He had been ever contriving, and had ſettled within himſelf, how, after his Father's Death, partly by the Terror of his Arms, and partly by the Favour of the *Spaniſh* Cardinals, who were Eleven in Number, he might have the Election of a Pope at his own Diſpoſal. But at preſent he laboured under much greater Difficulties

A. D. 1503. than he at firſt imagined, for proſecuting this or any other Deſign, on account of his dangerous Diſorder. He complained, with the greateſt Indignation, of his hard Fate, that whereas he had never been without conſidering all the Accidents that might happen by the Death of his Father, and had provided himſelf with ſuitable Remedies, it had never entered into his Thoughts, that it might poſſibly happen, that he himſelf ſhould be laid up with a dangerous Diſeaſe at that critical Juncture. He found it neceſſary, therefore, to accommodate his Meaſures, not to the Deſigns which he had at firſt framed, but to the preſent Neceſſity. And thinking it too dangerous to have, at the ſame time, both the *Colonnas* and *Orſini* for his Enemies, and fearing that the two Families would confederate together againſt him, he thought it better to truſt in that Family whom he had injured only in their Eſtates, than the other, whom he had injured by depriving them both of Life and Dominion. For this Reaſon he ſpeedily effected a Reconciliation with the *Colonnas*, and with the Family

Family of *da Valle*, who were Partiſans of the ſame Faction, and invited them to return to their own Eſtates, reſtoring to them all the Fortreſſes, which *Alexander* had cauſed to be fortified and enlarged at a vaſt Expence, *A. D.* 1503.

But this Step was not ſufficient for his Security, nor to quiet the City of *Rome*, where nothing reigned but Jealouſies and Tumults. For *Proſpero Colonna* had entered the Town, and all the Party of the *Colonnas* had taken up Arms. And *Fabio Orſino*, at the Head of a numerous Rabble of the Faction of the *Orſini*, was advanced to *Monte Giordano*, and had burnt down ſome Shops and Houſes of the *Spaniſh* Merchants and Courtiers, the Minds of the People almoſt to a Man being irritated againſt that Nation, and the Name of a *Spaniard* become odious for their inſolent Behaviour during the Time of the late Pontificate. *Fabio*, who thirſted after *Valentino*'s Blood, after this aſſembled a Number of foreign Soldiers, and ſollicited *Bartolomeo Alviano*, who was then in the *Venetian* Service, to come, and, in con- Diſorders in *Rome*.

A. D. 1503. junction with others of his Family, take Vengeance on thoſe from whom they had received ſuch great Injuries *. The Suburb and Meadows were full of *Valentino*'s Soldiers, and the Cardinals thinking it not ſafe to aſſemble in the pontifical Palace, met together in the Convent of the Church of the *Minerva* †, in which Place, contrary to antient Cuſtom, they began, tho' later than uſual, to celebrate *Alexander*'s funeral Solemnities.

THEY were under Apprehenſions at *Rome* of the coming of *Gonſalvo*, and the more becauſe *Proſpero Colonna* had left ſome *Spaniſh* Soldiers at *Marino*, and becauſe, by the Reconciliation of *Valentino* with the *Colonnas*, it was believed that he had agreed to eſpouſe the *Spaniſh* Intereſt. But they ſtood in much greater Fear

* *Alviano* came to *Rome* with a great Force, and committed ſome Diſorders, and attempted to enter the Palace of St. *Peter*, where *Valentino* lay. But the Magiſtrates of *Rome* obtained a Permiſſion for the Duke to depart for *Naples*; by which means the City was quieted. *Giovio*. But *Bembo* writes, that the *Venetians* ſent to offer the Command of their Army to *Gonſalvo*, the Fear of which drove away *Borgia* from *Rome*.

† The Convent of the *Dominicans*.

Fear of the Coming of the *French* Army, which had hitherto proceeded but ſlowly, becauſe the public Reſolutions of the *Swiſs*, who were intimidated by the ill Succeſs of their Countrymen in the Kingdom of *Naples*, had been long ſuſpended before they would grant Leave to the King's Officers to levy a Body of their Infantry; and for the ſame Reaſon almoſt all the Officers and Soldiers deſigned for that Expedition were liſted very ſlowly, and were afterwards but dull and tardy in their March. But on the Death of the Pope, the *French* Army under the Command of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, with the Title of the King's Lieutenant, in conjunction, as to effect, tho' not in Name, with the Bailiff of *Caen*, and *Sandricourt*, (Monſ. *de la Tremouille* lying ſick at *Parma*) without waiting for the *Swiſs*, marched into the Territory of *Siena*, with an Intention to proceed to *Rome*, in Obedience to the King's Orders; who alſo commanded his Fleet from *Gaeta* to ſail to *Oſtia*, to prevent, as it was ſaid, *Gonſalvo*, if he ſhould attempt to march with his Army to *Rome*, in order

A. D. 1503.

Progreſs of the *French* Army in *Italy*.

to

A. D. 1503. to conſtrain the Cardinals to elect a new Pope of his own Nomination. The Army, however, halted ſome Days between *Buonconvento* and *Viterbo*, * becauſe the Merchants at *Rome* making a Scruple of accepting Bills of Exchange from *France*, on account of the Diſturbances in that City, the *Swiſs*, who were advanced into the Territory of *Siena*, refuſed to proceed a Step further before they were paid.

Diſorders conſequent on the Death of the Pope and *Valentino*'s Illneſs.

ALL this while there were continual Tumults in the Territory of *Rome*, and in the other Parts of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and in *Valentino*'s Dominions; for the *Orſini*, and all the *Roman* Barons, were returned into their Poſſeſſions; the *Vitelli* returned into *Citta di Caſtello*, and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, grounding his Hopes on a Plot, made an Attack on *Perugia*; and tho' he was repulſed and put to flight by his Enemies, he returned with a great Force, the *Florentines* openly aſſiſting him, and, after a vigorous Aſſault, entered

* *Buonconvento* is two Poſts, or fourteen Miles, from *Siena*, and *Viterbo*, a City, forty Miles from *Rome*.

entered the Town, not without ſome Loſs on both Sides. The Inhabitants of *Piombino* alſo took up Arms, and tho' the *Seneſe* made an Attempt to poſſeſs themſelves of that Town, yet by the Favour of the *Florentines* their old Lord was reſtored. The Duke of *Urbino* alſo, with the Lords of *Peſaro*, *Camerino*, and *Senigaglia*, were all reinſtated in their Dominions *. Only the *Romagna*, tho' not without ſome Apprehenſions from the *Venetians*, who had drawn together a great Body of Forces at *Ravenna*, remained quiet, and inclined to continue in Subjection to *Valentino*. For the People of that Province had learnt by Experience, that it was far more eligible to be ſubject, all of them together, to one potent Lord, than for each City to be under the Dominion of its particular Prince, who for Want

A. D. 1503.

* Some write that *G. P. Baglioni*, in conjunction with Count *Pitigliano*, *Alviano*, and others of the Families of the *Orſini* and *Savelli*, marched out of *Rome* to *Viterbo*, and plundered and put to the Sword the *Gataſca* Faction, and took *Todi* and its Caſtle from the *Chiaravalli* Family; after which they went to *Perugia*, and expelled all that were of the Faction of the Church, and took other Towns and Caſtles from the Partiſans of *Carlo Baglioni*.

A. D. 1503. Want of Power could not defend them, and for Want of Money could do them no Kindneſs, but, on the contrary, his ſmall Income being inſufficient for his Maintenance, was obliged to oppreſs them. It was ſtill freſh upon their Memory, that by the Greatneſs and Authority of their preſent Sovereign, and by his impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice, their Country had been preſerved in Peace, and from the tumultous Outrages of Factions, with which they had before been continually plagued, and in which Murders had been often committed. By ſuch a Behaviour he had won the Hearts of the People, as alſo by the Favours he had granted to many of them, diſtributing Money among the military Men, beſtowing Offices, both in his own Dominions and in thoſe of the Church, on the Gentlemen of the long Robe; and uſing his Intereſt with his Father in Behalf of Eccleſiaſtics, in the Diſpoſal of Benefices. On theſe Accounts, neither the Example of all the reſt who rebelled, nor the Memory of their antient Lords, were capable of alienating their Affections from

Valen-

Valentino, who, tho' oppreſſed with ſo many Calamities, was courted both by *French* and *Spaniards*, with vaſt Offers and Promiſes, to declare on their Side, with a View, not only to ſerve themſelves with his Troops, but to gain the Votes of the *Spaniſh* Cardinals in the approaching Election. A. D. 1503.

BUT *Valentino*, tho', on account of his Reconciliation with the *Colonnas*, he was ſuppoſed to have taken the Part of the *Spaniards*, yet as he had no other Inducement for ſo doing but his Fear that they would confederate with the *Orſini*, and had at that very Time, as he ſaid, declared that he would not be bound to act, in any Reſpect, againſt the King of *France*, he reſolved to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the *French*; for both in *Rome*, where their Army was ſo nigh, and in his other Dominions, they had it in their Power to do him more Miſchief or Kindneſs than the *Spaniards*. Wherefore on the Firſt of *September* he entered into an Agreement with Cardinal *Sanſeverino* and Monſieur *Trans*, the King's Ambaſſador, contracting *Valentino declares.*

A. D. 1503. tracting Parties in the Name of the King, by which he engaged to lend his Troops for the Expedition to *Naples*, or for any other Enterprize, except againſt the Church. On the other Side, the aforeſaid Agents received him and all his Dominions under the Royal Protection, and engaged to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of thoſe which had been loſt. *Valentino* beſides gave them ſome Hopes that he would procure the Votes of the greater Part of the *Spaniſh* Cardinals in Favour of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who was in high Expectations of obtaining the Pontificate by the Authority, Money, and Arms of the King his Maſter, and with that Proſpect had ſet out from *France* for *Rome*, attended by the Cardinal of *Aragon* and Cardinal *Aſcanio*. This laſt had two Years before been releaſed from his Impriſonment in the Tower of *Bourges*, honourably introduced into Court, and highly careſſed by *Rouen*, in Hopes that on the firſt Vacation of the Pontificate he might be very ſerviceable to him on Account of his antient Reputation, and of the numerous Train of Friends and Dependents

pendents which he uſed to have at the Court of *Rome*. But his Hopes were built on a ſandy Bottom, for *Valentino* had not the total Diſpoſal of the *Spaniſh* Cardinals, who were more intent, as is uſual with other Mortals, on ſeeking their own Profit, than mindful to return the Favours beſtowed on them by his Father and himſelf. Many of them alſo were apprehenſive of incurring their King's Diſpleaſure, and could not ſo forget themſelves as to chuſe a *French* Cardinal for Pope, nor would *Aſcanio*, if it lay in his Power, have conſented that *Rouen* ſhould obtain the Pontificate, to the utter Depreſſion and extinguiſhing of all Hopes that yet remained in himſelf and in thoſe of his Family. *A. D.* 1503.

THEY had not yet entered upon the Election of a new Pontiff, not only becauſe they had begun later than ordinary the Celebration of the Exequies of the Deceaſed, which requires nine Days, before the End of which the Cardinals, according to antient Cuſtom, enter not into the

A. D. 1503. the Conclave *, but alſo becauſe for the ſake of preventing all Occaſion and Danger of a Schiſm, in ſo troubleſome a Juncture, and ſuch intereſting Diviſions among Princes, the Cardinals who were preſent had agreed to allow Time for the Arrival of thoſe who were abſent. And yet after they were come, the College was ſtill held in Suſpenſe, and under Apprehenſions that the Election would not be carried on with due Freedom, with reſpect to the Forces under *Valentino*, and becauſe the *French* Army, which was now all aſſembled in one Body between *Nepi* and *L'Iſola*, with a Deſign to extend their Quarters as far as *Rome*, refuſed to paſs the *Tiber* before a new Pope was elected, either out of Apprehenſions that the oppoſite Party would force the College to chuſe a Perſon after their own Heart, or becauſe the Cardinal of *Roueh* would

* The Law for regulating the Creation of a new Pope appoints, that nine Days be allotted after the Death of a Pope for the coming of the Cardinals that live at a Diſtance, during which Time the Exequies are every Day performed; and on the tenth Day the Cardinals who are preſent, after invoking the Holy Ghoſt, ſhut themſelves up in the Conclave, and attend the Buſineſs of an Election.

would have it ſo, for his own better Security, and that it might favour his Deſign upon the Pontiff. After much Contention, the Cardinals refuſing to enter the Conclave, till Matters were compoſed, the Cardinal of *Rouen* paſſed his Word to the College that the *French* Army ſhould not advance nearer than *Nepi* and *L'Iſola*; and *Valentino* conſented to leave *Rome*, and betake himſelf to *Nepi*, from whence he went to *Civita Caſtellana*, having ordered Three Hundred Men at Arms and Three Hundred Light Horſe under *Lodovico della Mirandola* and *Alexander da Trivulzi* to join the *French* Army. The College then ordered a good Body of Foot to guard the City, and empowered three Prelates, appointed to guard the Conclave, to open the Gates in caſe of any Tumult, that every one of the Cardinals having free Liberty to go where he pleaſed, there might be no Room for any one to think of putting a Force upon them.

A. D. 1503. Preliminaries to an Election of a Pope.

At laſt there entered into the Conclave to the Number of eight and thirty

A. D. 1503. Cardinals, whoſe Diſunion and Diſagreement, inſtead of cauſing Delays, as was uſual at other Times, was now the Cauſe of haſtening the Election, and declaring a new Pope in a few Days. For tho' they could by no Means agree about the Perſon whom they were to elect, on account of their different Views, but principally from the Diſputes between the Cardinals that depended on the King of *France*, and the *Spaniſh* Cardinals, or Dependants on the King of *Spain*; yet as every one was concerned for his own Safety, (the Affairs of *Rome* being in the utmoſt Diſorder, and the People tumultuous) and conſidered what miſchievous Accidents might poſſibly happen, in ſuch troubleſome Times, during the Vacation of the Apoſtolic See, they were inclined, with the Approbation of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, whoſe Hopes of being promoted himſelf decreaſed every Day, to elect *Franceſco Piccolomini*, Cardinal of *Siena*; who being very old, and at that Time infirm, it was preſumed that he could not ſurvive for any Length of Time. He was undoubtedly a Perſon of an unſpotted Character,

Cardinal of *Siena* elected Pope.

Character, and, if we were to judge by his other Qualifications, not unworthy of this high Dignity. He assumed the Name of *Pius* III. to renew the Memory of his Uncle *Pius* II. who promoted him to the Purple *. *A. D.* 1503. *Pius* III.

As soon as a Pope was elected, the *French* Army having no farther Cause to lie still in their Quarters, pursuing their first intended March, immediately passed the *Tiber*. But neither the Creation of a Pope, nor the Departure of the Army, quieted the Commotions in *Rome*, for they expected the Coming of *Alviano* and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, who were jointly raising Forces in the *Perugine*. *Valentino*, who still laboured under a dangerous Disorder, being apprehensive of their Coming, was returned to *Rome* with Two Hundred Men at Arms, as many Light Horse, and Eight Hundred Foot, having obtained a safe Conduct from the Pope, who was in Hopes of restoring Peace and Order by some Kind of Composition. But *Valentino*

* *Picolemini* was elected Pope *September* 22, 1503, and crowned *October* 8. *Buonac.*

A. D. 1503. *tino* and the *Orſini* being within the ſame Walls, and the *Orſini* burning with Thirſt after the Duke's Blood on very juſt Provocation, and receiving continual Reinforcements, tho' they had demanded ſpeedy Juſtice againſt him of the Pope and the College of Cardinals, yet they principally depended on doing themſelves Juſtice by Force of Arms, at leaſt as ſoon as they ſhould be joined by *Gian Pagolo Baglione* and *Alviano*. Hence *Rome*, and the Suburbs in which *Valentino* had his Quarters, were ſeldom without Commotions; and theſe Contentions between the Parties not only greatly diſturbed the Court and People of *Rome*, but had a bad Influence, as it was believed, on the *French* Affairs. For the *Orſini* were preparing, as ſoon as they had diſpatched their Buſineſs with *Valentino*, to enter into either the Service of the King of *France* or the King of *Spain*; and as the Acceſſion of their Force was reckoned of no ſmall Importance towards the Deciſion of the War, they had large Offers made by both Parties. But as they were naturally more addicted to the *French* Intereſt, the Cardinal of *Rouen* had, by the

the King's Commiſſion, taken into Pay *Giulio Orſino*, who contracted with him in the Name of the whole Family, except *Alviano*, for whom a Poſt was reſerved with honourable Conditions. But the Arrival of that Officer gave a new Turn to the Affair; for tho' in the Beginning he had in a Manner agreed with the Cardinal, yet being the Moment after cloſeted by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, he engaged to enter himſelf, with the whole Family of the *Orſini*, except *Gian Giordano*, with Five Hundred Men at Arms, on receiving a Salary of Sixty Thouſand Ducats, into the Service of the King his Maſter. What chiefly induced *Alviano* to take this haſty Reſolution, was, as he conſtantly affirmed, his Reſentment and Diſdain that *Rouen*, who, he found, now more than ever affected the Pontificate, ſhould favour *Valentino*, in hopes by his Means to obtain the major Part of the Votes of the *Spaniſh* Cardinals. The Cardinal however endeavoured to clear himſelf by laying the Blame on others, and would perſwade the World that the *Venetians* were in Fault, out of a

A. D. 1503.

The *Orſini* join the *Spaniards*.

A. D. 1503. malicious Deſire that the King of *France* ſhould not get Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, for which End they had not only conſented that *Alviano* ſhould quit their Service, with a Promiſe, as it was ſaid, to keep his Poſt vacant for him, but had alſo lent the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador Ten Thouſand Ducats, to enable him to make prompt Payment to the Forces in the Beginning. Tho' this be not altogether certain, it cannot however be denied that the *Venetian* Ambaſſador was manifeſtly concerned in this Buſineſs. Others aſſure us that the true Reaſon of this Step of *Alviano*, was his obtaining better Terms from the *Spaniards*; for they obliged themſelves to beſtow Places in the Kingdom of *Naples* on him and others of his Family, and Eccleſiaſtical Revenues on his Brother, and, what had a great Effect upon him, they promiſed to aſſiſt him, when the War was finiſhed, with Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, for an Enterprize he was meditating againſt the *Florentines* in Favour of *Piero de' Medici* *.

It

* *Giovio*, in his Second Book of the Life of *Gonſalvo*, imputed the Cauſe of the *Orſini*'s entering into the

D. A. 1503.

IT was expected that *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, who was now come to *Rome* with *Alviano*, as he followed the Example of *Giulio*, in treating at the ſame Time with the *French* and with the *Spaniards*, would alſo imitate him in taking the ſame Reſolution. But the Cardinal of *Rouen*, who was aſtoniſhed at the Alienation of the *Orſini*, being ſenſible that the Affairs of the *French*, which were in a very hopeful Way, were by theſe Means reduced tn a dubious State, immediately took him into his Maſter's Pay, on his own Terms, with One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms; but under the Name of the *Florentines*, becauſe *Gian Pagolo* would have it ſo, that he might be the more ſecure of his Payments when they became due; as they were to be deducted from the Sum due from them to the King by vir-

Spaniſh Service to M. *Trans*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, who had perſuaded himſelf that the *Orſini* ought to ſerve his King even without Stipend or Reward. Wherefore *Alviano*, diſguſted at his Pride as well as his Covetouſneſs, embraced the Party of the *Spaniards*, and he was confirmed in this Reſolution by the *Colonnas*.

A. D. 1503. tue of Treaties *. *Gian Pagolo*, however, after he had returned to *Perugia* to review his Troops, and had received Fourteen Thouſand Ducats, regulating his Conduct more according to the ordinary Succeſs of Things, and by his own Paſſions and Inreſts, than in a Manner becoming the Honour and Faith of a Soldier, delayed going to the *French* Army on various Pretences, and never moved from *Perugia*; which was interpreted by the Cardinal of *Rouen*, as that *Gian Pagolo*, in conformity to the Practice of the *Italian* Captains of thoſe Times, who ſhewed but little Sincerity and Honour in their Dealings, was, at the very time he entered into Pay, under a Promiſe to *Bartolomeo Alviano* and the *Spaniards*, to act in that Manner.

Peace between the *Orſini* and *Colonnas*.

THIS Step of the *Orſini* was attended with a Peace between them and the *Colonnas*, which was concluded at the ſame time in the Houſe of the *Spaniſh* Am-

* The City of *Florence* was obliged to pay *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, after he was entered into the *French* Service, the Sum of Sixty Thouſand Ducats, which was due to the King on account of his Protection. *Buonac.*

Ambaſſador, to whoſe Arbitration, and to that of the *Venetian* Miniſter, both Parties, with one Conſent, referred all their Differences. *A. D.* 1503.

THIS Union of the two Factions terrified *Valentino*, who reſolved to leave *Rome*, and was preparing for his Removal to *Bracciano*, to which Place *Giangiordano* had given his Word of Honour to the Cardinal of *Rouen* to conduct him in Safety. *Gian Pagolo* and the *Orſini* were diſpoſed to attack him, but finding they could not get into the Suburb by the Bridge of *St. Angelo*, they marched out of the City, and fetching a long Circuit, came to the Gate of *Torrone*. Finding it ſhut, they burnt it down, and entering the Suburb, began to ſkirmiſh with ſome of *Valentino*'s Horſe. And tho' many of the *French* Soldiers, who were not yet departed out of *Rome*, repaired to his Aſſiſtance, yet ſo vigorous was the Attack, and ſo great the Fury of his Enemies, that his own Troops, who had before been much diminiſhed, ſeemed ready to abandon him. He was conſtrained, therefore, *Valentino aſſaulted.*

A. D. 1503. therefore, together with the Prince of *Squillacci*, and ſome *Spaniſh* Cardinals, to take Refuge in the Palace of the Vatican, whence he immediately retired into the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where the Governor, who was the ſame as in the Time of the late Pontificate, gave him his Word, with the Pope's Conſent, to leave him at liberty to depart whenever he pleaſed. On his Flight all his Troops were diſperſed, and in the Fray the Bailiff of *Caen* was ſlightly wounded, and the Cardinal of *Rouen* was that Day in great Fear of his Life.

Death of Pope *Pius* III.

By this Event all Occaſions of Offence were removed, and the Tumults in *Rome* ceaſed of conſequence, ſo that they began quietly to proceed to the Creation of a new Pope; for *Pius*, not deceiving the Expectations of the Cardinals, on the 26th Day after his Election departed this Life *: After his Death the Car-

* *Pius* III. is ſuppoſed to have died of Poiſon conveyed into a fiſtulous Ulcer which he had in his Leg, at the Inſtigation of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, the Tyrant of *Siena*. He was aged 64 Years, 5 Months, and 10 Days, and was buried in *St. Peter*'s in the Chapel of *St. Andrew*, in a marble Sepulchre. He died *Oct.* 18, 1503, and *Julius* was declared Pope on *November* 1.

Cardinals for ſome Days delayed entering into the Conclave, becauſe they were willing that *Rome* ſhould be firſt cleared of the *Orſini*, who remained there for compleating their Levies; but in the mean time agreed on their Choice without Doors. For the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, who excelled in Friends, Riches, and Reputation, had engroſſed the Votes of ſuch a Number of the Cardinals, that thoſe who were of a contrary Party found no Room for Oppoſition. Wherefore entering the Conclave Pope already pre-elected and eſtabliſhed, he was, the laſt Night in *October*, without ſhutting the Conclave, exalted to the Pontificate. An Inſtance without Precedent in the Memory of Man! The new Pope, either becauſe he had a Reſpect for his firſt Name *Giuliano*, or, as it was reported, to ſignify the Vaſtneſs of his Ideas, or perhaps, becauſe he would not yield to *Alexander* in Excellence of Name, aſſumed that of *Giulio*, being the Second, among all the Popes who have ſat in the Chair, of that Denomination.

A. D. 1503.

Election of Pope *Julius* II.

A. D. 1503.

It was certainly Matter of great Surpriſe to all the World, that there ſhould be ſo great an Unanimity in electing a Cardinal, who was univerſally known to be of a very untractable Temper, and dreaded by every Body, and who was always of a very reſtleſs Diſpoſition, and had ſpent his Time in continual Buſtles and Contentions; whence he muſt of Neceſſity have offended Multitudes, and drawn upon himſelf the Hatred and Enmity of many great Perſonages *. But, on the other hand, there were manifeſt Reaſons for his ſurmounting all Difficulties in making his Way to the Popedom; for he had been a Cardinal of long ſtanding, of great Power and Influence, and by his Magnificence, in which he ſurpaſſed all others, and by his unparallelled Greatneſs of Soul, had not only acquired a great Number of Friends, but an inveterate and eſtabliſhed Authority in the Court of *Rome*, and had obtained the Name

Character of the new Pope.

Reaſons for his Advancement.

* *Giovio*, in the firſt Book of his Hiſtory, gives this Character of the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, that he was of a turbulent and terrible Spirit.

Name of being the principal Defender of the Eccleſiaſtical Dignity and Immunities. But what much more effectually pleaded in his Favour, and contributed to his Promotion, was the immoderate and unbounded Promiſes, which he made to the Cardinals, Princes, Barons, and to every one that could be of Service to him in his Election, of whatever they pleaſed to demand. He had it alſo in his Power to diſtribute Sums of Money, and to diſpoſe of a Multitude of Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, both of his own and of others. For ſuch was the Fame of his Munificence, as to attract Multitudes, who came voluntarily to offer him the Uſe and free Diſpoſal of their Purſe, their Name, their Places, and their Benefices, without conſidering that his Promiſes was much greater than, when he ſhould be afterwards a Pope, it lay in his Power, or was conſiſtent with his Duty, to perform. He had long born the Character of a frank and open-hearted Perſon, and a Speaker of Truth; even *Alexander* VI. his bitter Enemy, who was not wanting to expoſe his Faults, would yet confeſs

A. D. 1503.

His Popularity.

A. D. 1503. confeſs that he was a Man of Veracity. But as *Vincola* was ſenſible that no Man has it more in his Power to deceive others, than one who is not uſed, and is never thought to deceive, ſo, for the ſake of obtaining the Pontificate, he did not ſcruple to ſully this amiable Character.

Cardinals *Rouen*, *Aſcanio*, &c. how induced to vote for him.

THE Cardinal of *Rouen* gave his Aſſent to his Election; for as he now deſpaired of obtaining the Popedom, he flattered himſelf that, on the Score of former Favours and Dependences, he might ſuppoſe the new Pope to be a Friend to his King, as he had been hitherto reported. Cardinal *Aſcanio* alſo voted for *Vincola*, after a Reconciliation had firſt paſſed between them, in which all old Differences and Diſputes that had ſubſiſted ever ſince they were both Cardinals, and Attendants on the Court of *Rome*, before the Pontificate of *Alexander*, was buried in Oblivion *. For *Aſcanio*, who was better acquainted than *Rouen* with the Temper of *Vincola*, was in hopes that he would

* The Contentions between theſe two Cardinals were the Cauſe of *Alexander*'s Election. *See above*, Book I.

would be of the ſame reſtleſs Diſpoſition after he was Pontiff, or rather in a greater Degree than when he was in a lower Station, and that his Projects might open a Way for his Family's recovering the Dutchy of *Milan*. And as for the *Spaniſh* Cardinals, tho' at firſt they were utterly averſe, alſo gave their Conſent. For when they ſaw ſo great a Concurrence of Votes in favour of *Vincola*, and doubted, that it was out of their Power to prevent his Election, they thought it a ſafer Way to ſoften him by giving their Aſſent, than to exaſperate him by voting againſt him. Beſides they had ſome Confidence in the mighty Promiſes he made them, and were induced by the Perſuaſions and Intreaties of *Valentino*, who was involved in ſuch Calamities that he was under a Neceſſity of embracing any Expedient that offered, tho' never ſo dangerous. But he was diſappointed of his Hopes as well as others. For *Vincola* had promiſed him to give his Daughter in Marriage to *Franceſco Maria della Rivere*, Prefect of *Rome*, his own Nephew, and to confirm him in the Poſt of Captain General

A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503. General of the Army of the Church, and, what was of more Importance, to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of the States of *Romagna*, all of which, except the Fortreſſes, had revolted from his Obedience.

Revolutions in *Romagna*.

THE Affairs of *Romagna*, where was nothing but Changes and Novelties, greatly diſturbed the Mind of the new Pope, who was very ſenſible that he had it not in his Power, at preſent, to ſettle that Province in what Manner he pleaſed, and the growing Greatneſs of the *Venetians* was become almoſt intolerable to him. When the People of *Romagna* had received Advice that *Valentino* was fled into the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and that the Troops he had with him were diſperſed, thoſe Cities which had before waited in Patience for his Arrival amongſt them, now loſing all Hopes, began to take different Parties. *Ceſena* returned to its antient Obedience to the Church. *Imola*, the Governor of the Caſtle being aſſaſſinated by means of ſome of the principal Citizens, ſtood in Suſpenſe, ſome preferring the Dominion of the Church, and

and others willing to return under the Subjection of their antient Lords the *Riarii*. The City of *Forli*, which had long been in the Poſſeſſion of the *Ordelaſi*, before it devolved to the *Riarii*, by the Conceſſion of Pope *Sixtus*, had recalled *Antonio* of the ſame Family, who firſt attempted an Entrance with ſome Troops of the *Venetians*, but afterwards being apprehenſive that they would make uſe of his Name, in order to get poſſeſſion of it for themſelves, had recourſe to the *Florentines*, and was reſtored with their Aſſiſtance. *Giovanni Sforza* was returned to *Peſaro*, and *Pandolfo Malateſta* to *Rimini*, both of them recalled by the People; but *Dionigi di Naldo*, an old Soldier of *Valentino*, at the Requeſt of the Governor of the Caſtle of *Rimini*, came to his Aſſiſtance, and putting to Flight *Pandolfo*, that City returned under Subjection to *Valentino*. The *Faventines* only perſevered a long time in their Allegiance to the Duke; but at laſt, being deprived of all hopes of his Return, they bethought themſelves of the Remains of the Houſe of the *Manfredi*, their antient Lords, and, for want

A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503. of a legitimate Heir, called in young *Aſtorre*, a Baſtard of that Family.

Ambition of the *Venetians.*

BUT the *Venetians* aſpiring at the Dominion of all *Romagna*, had, immediately after the Death of *Alexander*, ordered a good Body of Troops to *Ravenna*, with which one Night they made a vigorous and unexpected Attack upon the City of *Ceſena*, but the People manfully defending themſelves, the Enemy, who had brought no Cannon with them, as depending more on Surprize than open Force, returned into the Territory of *Ravenna*, ſtill intent on every thing that might give them an Opportunity for extending themſelves in that Province, which readily preſented itſelf from a Quarrel between *Dionigi di Naldo* and the *Faventines*. *Dionigi*, it ſeems, was extremely chagrined at the Return of the *Faventines* under Subjection to the *Manfredi*, againſt whom they had rebelled when *Valentino* beſieged their City; wherefore calling in the *Venetians*, he delivered into their Hands the Fortreſſes of the *Valdimone*, which were intruſted to his Keeping.

Shortly

Shortly after the Governor of the Caſtle of *Faenza* corrupted with Money, admitted Three Hundred *Venetian* Foot into that Fortreſs. * At the ſame time they took poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Forlimpopoli*, and many other Caſtles in *Romagna*, and ſent a Detachment of their Troops to poſſeſs themſelves of the City of *Fano*, but the Citizens reſolutely defended the Place for the Church. They were alſo introduced into *Rimini* with the good Will of the People, having firſt articled with *Pandolfo Malateſta* to give him in recompenſe the Town of *Cittadella* in the Territory of *Padoua*, with a yearly Penſion, and a ſtanding Command of a Company of Men at Arms †. After this they applied themſelves with all Expedition to the Siege of *Faenza*; for the *Faventines* were not diſcouraged at the Loſs of their Caſtle, but taking Advantage of its low Situation, had ſoon ſeparated *A. D.* 1503.

Faenza beſieged by the *Venetians*.

* This Governor was *Ramire* a *Spaniard*, who demanded of the Senate of *Venice* the Command of Five Hundred Horſe, with a yearly Salary of Two Thouſand Ducats, which was granted him. *Bembo*.

† *Pandolfo* and his Deſcendants upon this account were created noble *Venetians*.

A. D. 1503. it from the City by a deep Ditch, ſo that it could not greatly incommode them, and then made a brave Defence, being well affected to the Name of the *Manfredi*, and full of Indignation that the Men of the *Valdimone* had preſumed to diſpoſe of the Dominion of *Faenza*. But they were too weak of themſelves to make any Defence, for the *Venetians*, under *Chriſtoforo Moro* the Proveditor, had inveſted the Town with an Army and Artillery, and had poſſeſſed himſelf of the moſt important Places in their Territory. They therefore implored Aſſiſtance of *Julius*, who was then juſt entered on the Pontificate. The Pope was greatly diſturbed at this Audaciouſneſs of the *Venetians*; but as he was but newly ſeated in the Chair, and was deſtitute of Forces and Money, and could expect no Aſſiſtance from the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, who were employed in Matters of greater Importance, and alſo becauſe he had refuſed to aſſociate himſelf with either of theſe Princes, his only Reſource lay in the Reſpect due to the Pontifical Name and Authority. Of what Value this

Faventines crave Aid of the Pope.

this might be with the *Venetian* Senate, when enforced with the Regard that ought to be paid to the Friendſhip that had ſo long ſubſiſted between himſelf and their Republic, he concluded on making the Experiment by ſending the Biſhop of *Tivoli* to *Venice*. That Prelate had Orders to remonſtrate that his Holineſs was very ſorry that, *Faenza* being a City belonging to the Church, they had not refrained from offering ſuch Diſhonour to a Pope, who, before his Exaltation to that Dignity, had been always cordially affected to their Republic, and from whom in his preſent high Station they might expect to reap, in a moſt abundant Meaſure, the Fruits of his antient Benevolence. *A. D.* 1503.

Pope intercedes with the *Venetians* in vain.

IT is highly probable, that there were not wanting among the Senate ſome of thoſe Patriots who had before diſſuaded their entangling themſelves in the Affairs of *Piſa*, their receiving in pledge the Ports of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and their dividing the Dutchy of *Milan* with the King of *France*, who now repreſented

A. D. 1503. the Conſequences of their raiſing every Day new Jealouſies and Suſpicions, and rendering themſelves more and more obnoxious to their Neighbours, by making, amongſt all the reſt, an Enemy of the Pope. But the ambitious Counſels of that Senate had been hitherto favoured with ſuch happy Succeſs, that they reſolved to ſpread all their Sails to ſo proſperous a Wind of Fortune, and therefore the Speeches of thoſe who adviſed other Meaſures were not heard.

Anſwer of the *Venetians* to the Pope. AN Anſwer, therefore, was drawn up, and agreed to by a great Majority to the following Effect; * That the Senate had always ardently deſired that the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola* ſhould be promoted to the Pontificate, on account of the Friendſhip which had ſo very long ſubſiſted

* The Anſwer given by the Council of Ten to the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, the Pope's Nuntio at *Venice*, as we read in *Bembo*, was, That the Senate was ſorry that ſuch Propoſals ſhould come from the Pope, as being contrary to the Opinion which they had entertained of *Julius*; and that the Republic had wreſted *Rimini* and *Faenza* out of the Hands of the Tyrants, to which he himſelf had exhorted them when he was a Cardinal, and therefore they deſigned to keep them as Vicars of the Church.

ſiſted between them, and had been confirmed by a mutual Intercourſe of innumerable kind Offices and Benefits on both Sides; that ſince they had paid him ſo much Deference when a Cardinal, there was no Room to doubt that they would not pay him much more Honour and Reſpect now he was Pope. But they could not underſtand how they had offended his Dignity by embracing the Opportunity which offered itſelf of poſſeſſing *Faenza*, becauſe that City was not only out of the Poſſeſſion of the Church, but this ſame Church had voluntarily diveſted itſelf of all its Dominion thereunto by transferring its Sovereignty in full and ample Manner, in a Conſiſtory, to Duke *Valentino*: That his Holineſs ought to remember, that even before this Conceſſion, the Pontiffs had not been in poſſeſſion of *Faenza* in the Memory of Man; but that it had paſſed from time to time by Grant to new Vicars, who, as Lords, paid the Popes no other Acknowledgment of their Superiority than a Tribute, which the Senate was ready to pay provided it was their Due: That the *Fa-* A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503. *ventines* were not desirous of the Dominion of the Church, but had it in Abhorrence, and had been zealously attached to the Name of *Valentino* to the last Extremity; and when they had lost all Hopes of his Patronage, precipitately called in the Bastards of the House of *Manfredi*. They concluded with their humble Desire that the Pontiff would preserve in himself the same good Will and Affection to the *Venetian* Senate, as he had demonstrated when a Cardinal.

THE Pope, as soon as he was certified of this Resolution of the *Venetians*, would have sent into *Romagna* Duke *Valentino*, whom, immediately on his Elevation to the Pontificate, he had entertained and treated with great Honour and Demonstrations of Benevolence, and had appointed him an Apartment in the Pontifical Palace. But he altered his Mind on further Consideration, being apprehensive that the Duke's going to *Romagna*, which at first would have been acceptable to all Ranks of People, would, in the present Juncture, be highly disagreeable, because

becauſe there had been a general Revolt from his Government. The *Faventines* then had no other Way left but to have Recourſe to the *Florentines*, who could not but be uneaſy that a City ſo near to their Borders ſhould fall into the Hands of the *Venetians*, and had therefore at firſt ordered a Succour of Two Hundred Foot, and given them Hopes of a further Supply, in order to encourage them to hold out till the Pope could find Time to relieve them. But the *Florentines* finding that the Pope was not diſpoſed to take up Arms *, and that the Authority of the King of *France*, who had from the Beginning charged the *Venetians* to give no Diſturbance to the Eſtates of *Valentino*, was not ſufficient to reſtrain them, were unwilling to involve themſelves in War with ſuch potent Enemies, and deſiſted from ſending the *Faventines* any further Aſſiſtance. They therefore, deſpairing

A. D. 1503.

* This appears from *Bimbo*, who tells us, that when the *Florentines*, by the Mouth of Cardinal *Soderini*, would have perſuaded the Pope that the *Venetians* paid no Reſpect to his Authority; and when the *Venetian* Ambaſſador defended his Republic, the Pope made Anſwer that he gave no Credit to Detractors.

A. D. 1503. ſpairing of Relief, and the *Venetian* Army, having made a Lodgment in the Church of the *Franciſcans*, beginning to batter the Walls of the Town (which was alſo in a great Commotion at the Diſcovery of a Plot for delivering the Place to the *Venetians*, for which ſome were taken into Cuſtody) ſurrendered their City, ſecuring by Agreement with the Beſiegers a ſmall Penſion to *Aſtorre* during his Life.

Faenza taken by the Venetians.

THE *Venetians*, after the Conqueſt of *Faenza*, might eaſily have poſſeſſed themſelves of *Imola* and *Forli*; but to give no further Provocation to the Pope, who highly reſented their Proceedings, they ordered their Troops to their former Poſt, having made themſelves Maſters in *Romagna*, not only of *Faenza* and *Rimini* with their Territories, but alſo of *Monte Fiore*, *Sant Arcangelo*, *Verrucchio*, *Gattera*, *Savignano*, *Meldola*, the Port of *Ceſenatico*, and of *Toſignano*, *Solaruolo*, and *Monte Battaglia* in the Territory of *Imola*. Nothing now remained to *Valentino* in *Romagna*, but the Caſtles of *Forli*, *Ceſena*, *Forlimpopoli* and *Bertinoro*, which, tho'

tho' he heartily wiſhed to go himſelf in Perſon to *Romagna*, he would have conſented to deliver them up to the Pope, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the *Venetians*, on Condition of having them reſtored when they were in a better State of Security. But the Pope, who had not yet quite freed himſelf from the Shackles of his antient Sincerity, refuſed the Offer, ſaying he would not voluntarily put himſelf in an Occaſion which might tempt him to break his Word. At laſt, to ſtop in ſome Meaſure the Progreſs of the *Venetians*, who became very formidable to him on Account of the Danger of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and his Holineſs, beſides, being deſirous that *Valentino* ſhould leave *Rome*, he entered into an Agreement, ſubſcribing his own Name, and the Cardinals ſubſcribing their Names to the following Convention: That the Duke ſhould go by Sea to *Spetie*, and from thence by Land to *Ferrara*, and after that to *Imola*; where he was to take upon him the Command of One Hundred Men at Arms, and One Hundred Light Horſe, which ſtill ſerved under

A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503. under his Banner. Purſuant to this Reſolution *Valentino* ſet out to embark at *Oſtia* *; but the Pope repenting that he had not accepted the Forteſſes, and now thinking to have them at any Rate, and to keep them for himſelf, diſpatched the Cardinals of *Volterra* and *Surrente* to *Oſtia*, to perſuade the Duke, that, in order to prevent thoſe Places being ſeized by the *Venetians*, it was his beſt Way to depoſit them in the Hands of the Pontiff, under the ſame Promiſe as when they had treated on that Head at *Rome*. But *Valentino* refuſing to do it, the Pope in great Anger ordered him to be arreſted on board the Galley in which he was already embarked, and to be conducted thence under an honourable Guard, to *Magliano*, from whence he was conveyed to the Palace, the Court and all *Rome* making public Rejoicings for his Captivity. Here, he was kept in ſafe Cuſtody,

Valentino leaves *Rome*.

* After the Conqueſt of *Faenza* and *Rimini*, the *Venetians* had determined to take no more Towns in *Romagna*, becauſe they would not irritate the Pope; but on Information that *Borgia* was returning to recover his Eſtate, they altered their Reſolution, and took poſſeſſion of the Towns here mentioned at *Bembo*.

Cuſtody, but honoured and careſſed, be- *A. D.* 1503.
cauſe the Pontiff, fearing that the Governors of the Fortreſſes, deſpairing of their Maſter's Redemption, would ſell them to the *Venetians*, endeavoured to obtain his Aſſignments of thoſe Places by generous and humane Treatment.

THUS fell *Valentino* from the Height of his Greatneſs, to which he had haſtened his Aſcent by Steps of Fraud and Cruelty, no leſs than by the Arms and Power of the Church; and thus did the ſpeedy Increaſe of his Grandeur terminate in his more ſpeedy Ruin, after having experienced the ſame deluſive Arts practiſed upon himſelf, with which he and his Father had plagued ſo many others. Nor did his Troops meet with any better Fortune; for after they had marched into the Territory of *Perugia*, in Hopes of obtaining a Protection from the *Florentines* and others, being cloſely purſued by the Forces of *Baglioni*, the *Vitelli* and the *Seneſe*, they retired into the Dominions of the *Florentines*. Here, having diſperſed themſelves between *Caſtigliano* and *Cortona*, and being reduced

A. D. 1503. reduced to Four Hundred Horſe and a few Infantry, they were by Order of the *Florentines* diſarmed and ſtripped. Don *Michele*, their Leader, was made a Priſoner, and delivered up to the Pope, who demanded him with the utmoſt Importunity, becauſe he hated all that had had Employments under the Pontificate of *Alexander*, and this *Michele* had been a moſt truſty Servant of *Valentino*, and his principal Agent in the Execution of all his Villainies. But as it was in the Nature of the Pope eaſily to relent and be mitigated towards thoſe who lay at his Mercy, and might expect his Severity, he ordered him not long after to be releaſed.

His Troops diſarmed and ſtripped.

THE Cardinal of *Rouen* left *Rome* about this Time on his Return to *France*, having firſt obtained of *Julius*, more by Conſtraint, becauſe he durſt not deny him, than free Will, a Confirmation of his Legateſhip of that Kingdom. But Cardinal *Aſcanio* would not accompany him, tho' he had, when he departed from *France*, promiſed the King, upon Oath, to return thither; but he had obtained private

private Abſolution of his Oath by the Pope. The Cardinal of *Rouen*, however, would take no Warning from Cardinal *Aſcanio*'s Impoſition on him, to be more cautious in his Dealings with *Pandolfo Petrucci*. That Nobleman received his Eminence in *Siena* with all the Marks of Honour, and by ſly Hints, cunning Perſuaſions, and fair Promiſes of reſtoring *Montepulciano* to the *Florentines*, ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the good Opinion of the Cardinal, that his Eminence, after his Return to *France*, not only declared that he had never met with a wiſer Man in all *Italy*, but alſo prevailed on the King to grant Leave to *Pandolfo*'s Son *Borgheſe*, who had been ſent into *France* as an Hoſtage for the Performance of his Father's Promiſes, to return to *Siena*.

A. D. 1503.

Pandolfo's cunning Management of the Cardinal of *Rouen*.

THESE were the Changes that were occaſioned in *Italy* by the Death of the Pope; but the Enterprizes of the King of *France*, at the ſame time, on the other ſide the Mountains, which promiſed ſo much Succeſs, laboured under great Embaraſſments. For the Army which had marched

A. D. 1503. marched to the Borders of *Gaſcony*, for Want of Pay, and of good Conduct in the General, was ſoon diſſolved; and the Fleet, after cruiſing ſome time in the *Spaniſh* Seas to little Purpoſe, retired into the Port of *Marſeilles*; and as for the Army that marched towards *Perpignan*, where the King expected great Impreſſion to be made, becauſe it was well provided with all Neceſſaries, it had laid Siege to *Sals*, a Fortreſs not far from *Narbonne*, and ſituated at the Foot of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, in the County of *Rouſſillon* *. But the Place being in a good State of Defence, the Beſieged made a ſtout Reſiſtance; and tho' the *French* carried on the Siege with great Vigour, and uſed their utmoſt Efforts to batter down the Walls with their Cannon, or ruin them by their Mines, the Enterprize miſcarried. For a very numerous Army of the *Spaniards*, collected out of all the Kingdoms of *Spain*, was aſſembled at *Perpignan*, with a Deſign to relieve the Place. The King

Sals beſieged in vain by the *French*

* Its antient Name was *Salſude*; it is ſituated on the Road to *Narbonne* by a ſtanding Pool of brackiſh Water, where the Extremities of the *Pyrenean* Mountains are waſhed by the Sea of *Majorca*. *Giovio*.

King of *Spain* alſo was come thither in Perſon, and that Army, on occaſion of the Diſſolution of the *French* Forces, which had been ordered towards *Fonterabia*, was joined by thoſe Troops which had marched to defend that Frontier. All theſe Forces together being in motion to attack the Enemy, the *French* Commanders, being ſenſible of their Inferiority, raiſed the Siege of *Sals*, and retired towards *Narbonne*, having ſpent about Forty Days before the Place. They were followed by the *Spaniards*, who entered the Borders of *France*, and took ſome Towns which were of little Importance; but the *French* being encamped under the Cannon of *Narbonne*, they retired a few Days after into their own Country, by Order of their King, who was well ſatisfied that he had protected his Country, and repelled the Invader. For it was much againſt his Inclination to keep up a War on the other Side of the Mountains, knowing that his Kingdoms were very well able to defend themſelves againſt a *French* Invaſion, but were too weak to act upon the Offenſive. But ſoon after, A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503. by the Interpoſition of King *Federigo*, a Truce was concluded for Five Months, with regard only to the Ultramontane Countries. For *Federigo*, being perſuaded of the Intention of the King of *Spain* to reſtore him to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and hoping that he might alſo gain the Conſent of the King of *France*, with whom the Queen, out of Compaſſion, had been very importunate for the ſame Purpoſe, had procured a Negotiation of Peace between them. During this Treaty, while the War was puſhed on with Vigour in *Italy*, the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Spain* at the *French* Court managed Matters ſo artfully, that *Federigo* perſuaded himſelf that the Difficulty of his Reſtoration, which was vehemently oppoſed by the Barons of the *Anjouin* Party, was to be imputed principally to the King of *France*.

THE whole Streſs of the War between the two Kings being now reduced to the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Eyes and Attention of the Public were diverted wholly to that Part. The *French* then, after leaving

leaving *Rome*, marched through the Towns and Villages of *Valmontone* and of the *Colonnas*, where they were freely ſupplied with Proviſions. Hence they continued their March through the Eccleſiaſtical Campaign towards *St. Germano*, where *Gonſalvo*, after placing Garriſons in *Rocca Secca*, and *Monte Caſino*, had poſted himſelf, not with an Intention to hazard a Battle, but to prevent the Enemy from paſſing any further, which by the Strength of his Situation he was in hopes to effect. The *French* being arrived at *Ponte Corvo* and *Capperano* were joined by the Troops from *Gaeta* under the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who taking advantage of the Departure of *Gonſalvo*, had recovered the Dutchy of *Trajetto*, and the Territory of *Fondi* as far as the River *Garigliano*.

A. D. 1503.

Progreſs of the *French* towards *Naples*.

THE firſt Enterprize of the *French* Army was the Siege of *Rocca Secca*, which after one Aſſault given in vain, they quitted, and by that means at once loſt all their Credit and Reputation to ſuch a Degree, that it was confidently aſſerted throughout the *Spaniſh* Army, that this Day's

French repulſed at *Rocca Secca*.

A. D. 1503. Work had ſecured the Kingdom of *Naples* from the *French* *. The Generals then, on this Repulſe, deſpairing of finding means to diſlodge the Enemy from the Poſt of *St. Germano*, reſolved to attempt their Way by the Sea Coaſt; and for that End, after they had reſted two Days in *Aquino*, which they had taken, they left Seven Hundred Foot in *Rocca Guglielma*, and returned back to *Ponte Corvo*, and marched along the Road of *Fondi*, with a Deſign to pitch their Camp by a Tower that commands the Paſs of the River *Garigliano*. It is reported, that this was the Place where that very antient City *Minturnæ* was ſituated. The Spot indeed lies very convenient not only for laying a Bridge over the River, as the *French* had deſigned, but was extremely commodious, in caſe of Neceſſity, for their forming a ſtanding Camp, where they would have *Gaeta* and their Fleet at their Backs, and have the Command of *Trajetto*, *Itri*, *Fondi*, and the whole Coun-

* *Giovio* ſays the *French* ſtormed the Place twice, and that the *Spaniards* defended themſelves moſt valiantly, being commanded by *Villalba*, a Man of a moſt reſolute Temper.

Country as far as the *Garigliano*. It was judged that the Event of the War, in a great meaſure, depended on the Paſſage of the River by the *French*. For *Gonſalvo* found himſelf ſo inferior in Force, that he could not hope to oppoſe them in an open Country, ſo that the *French* would have been at liberty to march to the Walls of *Naples*, which would have been at the ſame time inveſted by Sea with a Fleet, that would have met with no Oppoſition from any naval Force of the *Spaniards*. A. D. 1503.

GONSALVO, therefore, had decamped from *St. Germano*, and was arrived on the other Side of the *Garigliano*, in order to uſe his utmoſt Efforts to prevent the *French* from paſſing that River, which he was in good hopes to effect, conſidering the Diſadvantages and Difficulties that muſt attend the Paſſage of unfordable Rivers in the Sight of an Enemy. But it often falls out, that what we account moſt difficult, proves moſt eaſy in the Event; and, on the contrary, what all imagine to be moſt eaſy, is found to be very difficult

A. D. 1503. when undertaken. Thus the *French*, in ſpite of all the Oppoſition the *Spaniards* could make, laid a Bridge, and gained the Paſſage of the River, under the Fire of their Cannon, partly planted on the Bank where they were encamped, which was ſomewhat higher than the oppoſite Bank, and partly on Barks taken from the Fleet, and hauled thither againſt the Courſe of the Stream. But the next Day, when the *French* begun to paſs, the *Spaniards* oppoſed them, and attacking thoſe who were already paſſed with great Vigour, repulſed them to the very Middle of the Bridge, and would have puſhed them further, if they had not been conſtrained to retreat by the Fire of the Artillery. There fell in this Action, on the Part of the *French*, the Lieutenant of the Bailiff of *Dijon*; and of the *Spaniards*, *Fabio* Son of *Pagolo Orſino*, a young Gentleman of great Hopes, among the *Italian* Soldiery.

Action at the *Garigliano.*

IF the *French*, they ſay, when they firſt begun to paſs, had bravely puſhed forwards, they would have remained Maſters

Maſters of the Field that Day. But while they proceeded ſlowly, and like Men that were afraid, they not only loſt the Opportunity of gaining a Victory for that Day, but, in a great meaſure, deprived themſelves of all Hopes for the future. For ever after nothing proſpered with them; their Generals diſagreed among themſelves; and, according to the uſual Behaviour of *French* Soldiers to *Italian* Officers, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, the King's Lieutenant, had but little Obedience paid to his Orders; for which reaſon, or becauſe, as he pretended, he was really diſordered in Body; or elſe becauſe, from the Obſervation he had made from the unfortunate Attempt on *Rocca Secca*, and now ſince that of this unlucky Day's Action in endeavouring to paſs the River, he had loſt all Hopes of Victory, he left the Army; which Step of his induced the *French* King to entertain a better Opinion of his Fidelity, than of his Courage, or Conduct in the Command of an Army. *A. D.* 1503.

Marquis of *Mantoua* leaves the Army.

AFTER his Departure the *French*

A. D. 1503. Generals, the Chief of whom were the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, the Bailiff of *Caen*, and *Sandricourt*, made at the Head of the Bridge, on the oppoſite Side of the River, a Barrier with Carriages, and then erected a Redoubt large enough to hold a good Number of Men, by which Means they were ſecured from the Attacks of the Enemy when they paſſed the Bridge. But their further Progreſs was retarded by other Difficulties, which aroſe partly through their own Fault, and partly through the Patience and Reſolution of the Enemy, and ſome might be owing to the Partiality of Fortune. For *Gonſalvo*, who was intent on hindering them from advancing farther, by taking advantage of the Winter, and of the Situation of the Country, rather than by force of Arms, had entrenched himſelf at *Cintura*, a Village ſeated on a ſmall Eminence, a little above a Mile from the River, his Infantry, and others belonging to the Army having their Quarters all around him; but they lodged very inconveniently on account of the Solitarineſs of the Place, which was very thin of Houſes, and

and the Huts of the Peaſants and Shepherds were almoſt without any Covering, and alſo becauſe the Soil, by reaſon of the low Situation of that flat Country, and the extraordinary Rains, was full of Water and Mud. Thoſe Soldiers, therefore, who had not the Conveniency of lodging on higher Grounds, got together great Quantities of Faſcines, and ſpread them on the Earth where they lay. On account of theſe Difficulties, and becauſe the Army was but ill paid, and the *French* had the full Command of the Paſſage of the River, it was the Advice of ſome of the *Spaniſh* Officers to retreat to *Capua*, that the Troops might ſuffer no Loſs, and to avoid the Danger, of which they were in continual Apprehenſions, of being attacked by an Enemy ſuperior in Force. But this Advice was rejected by *Gonſalvo*, out of his Greatneſs of Soul, in theſe ever memorable Words; "I would rather chuſe, ſays he, to be buried inſtantly one Foot forwards, than by retreating a few Yards backwards to prolong my Life an Hundred Years." And thus by reſiſting and bearing up againſt Difficulties

A. D. 1503.

Magnanimous Reſolution of *Gonſalvo*.

A. D. 1503. culties and Hardſhips with Firmneſs of Mind, and being deeply entrenched behind two Redoubts erected at the Front of his Quarters, he maintained himſelf in his Camp oppoſite to the *French*, who, notwithſtanding they had erected a Redoubt, never offered to ſtir. For the Country was all overflowed by the Rains, and the Inundations of the Rivers, (it being the Place called by *Titus Livius*, on account of its Vicinity to *Seſſa*, *Aquæ ſinueſſanæ*; and perhaps they are the Marſhes of *Minturnæ*, in which *Caius Marius* hid himſelf when he fled from *Sylla*) ſo that they had no Way to advance but by a narrow Road, full of very deep Mud, and where all the Soil was like a Quagmire, and not without danger of being attacked in flank by the nimble Infantry of the *Spaniards*, who had their Quarters very near. It happened alſo, that the Winter was extremely cold and ſharp, and attended with almoſt continual Snows and Rains, very unuſual in that Country; ſo that the Heavens and Fortune ſeemed to conſpire together againſt the *French*. Their Army alſo, by thus lying

lying ſtill, did not only waſte their Time unprofitably, but received by this Delay, on account of their natural Temperament, the ſame Miſchief in a Manner, as human Bodies receive from a ſlow, waſting Poiſon. For tho' they were lodged in a more convenient Manner than the *Spaniards*, Part of them being placed within the Remains of an antient Theatre, over which they made Coverings of Wood, and part in the neighbouring Cottages and ſuttling Houſes; beſides the Place round about the Tower being ſomewhat higher than the Plain of *Seſſa*, was leſs liable to be overflowed, and the greater Part of their Cavalry took up their Quarters in *Trajetto*, and in the neighbouring Towns; yet for all this the *French* and *Swiſs*, not being accuſtomed to endure ſuch long Fatigues and Inconveniencies, as the *Spaniards*, the Ardor and Impetuoſity of their Spirits and Courage were continually cooling and on the Decline. And their Miſeries were increaſed by the Avarice of thoſe who were entruſted by the King with the Charge of paying the Army, and ſupplying it with Proviſions. A. D. 1503.

For

D. A. 1503. For thoſe Miniſters, intent only on their own Gain, practiſed all Kinds of Fraud, ſuffering the Army to diminiſh in Numbers, and keeping the Camp ſhort of Proviſions. By theſe Practices, many Diſtempers were propagated amongſt them, and the Number of Soldiers, tho' much the ſame with reſpect to Payments, was conſiderably leſſened in effect, Part of the *Italian* Troops deſerting the Service. Theſe Diſorders increaſed the Diſagreement among the General Officers, by which Means the Army was not kept under proper Diſcipline, nor paid due Obedience to Orders.

Sickneſs and other Diſorders in the *French* Army.

THUS the *French*, prevented by the Severeneſs of the Winter, remained unactive on the Banks of the *Garigliano*, and made no Work neither for themſelves nor their Enemies, except ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes, of no Importance towards a Deciſion of the War, and in which the *Spaniards* appeared almoſt conſtantly to have the upper Hand; as it happened to the Troops which the *French* had left in Garriſon at *Rocca Guglielma*, who being

being incapable of maintaining themſelves under the daily Moleſtation from the *Spaniſh* Garriſons of *Rocca Secca* and the circumjacent Towns, and on the Return to their Army, were encountered and routed by them. *A. D.* 1503.

SUCH was the Poſture of Affairs for many Days, when *Bartolomeo Alviano*, and the reſt of the *Orſini*, with their Troops, joined the *Spaniards*. By their Coming the Forces of *Gonſalvo* were augmented ſo as to make in the whole Nine Hundred Men at Arms, One Thouſand light Horſe, and Nine Thouſand *Spaniſh* Infantry. That General, therefore, began to think of ſtanding no longer upon the defenſive Part, but of acting offenſively, to which he was the more encouraged by knowing that the *French*, tho' they were greatly ſuperior to him in Horſe, were not ſo in Foot, and were alſo diſperſed abroad among the neighbouring Towns in ſuch a Manner, that their Quarters took up little leſs than Ten Miles in Compaſs; and that the Marquis of *Saluzzo* the Viceroy, and the other

A. D. 1503. other general Officers, with the leſſer Part of the Army, had their Quarters round about the Tower of *Garigliano*; being well informed alſo that theſe Forces, tho' well ſupplied with Proviſions, diminiſhed daily by Sickneſs, and that many were already dead, among them the Bailiff of *Caen*, he then reſolved to attempt the Paſſage of the River by Stealth, and if he ſucceeded, he could no longer doubt of the Victory. With this View he gave Orders to *Alviano*, who, as ſome ſay, was the Author of this Project, to conſtruct a Bridge of Boats, which he effected with all Secreſy in a Cottage near *Seſſa*; and conveying it in the Night to the *Garigliano*, had it thrown over the River at the Paſſage of *Suio*, Four Miles above the Bridge of the *French*, and where they kept no Guard. As ſoon as the Bridge was laid, which was the Night of the 27th of *December*, the whole Army paſſed over, with *Gonſalvo* himſelf in Perſon, who that ſame Night took up his Quarters in the Town of *Suio*, which lies on the River, and had been poſſeſſed by the firſt Troops that had paſſed. The next

Gonſalvo paſſes the *Gariglia-no.*

next Morning, which was *Friday*, a fortunate Day to the *Spaniards*, *Gonſalvo* gave Orders to the Rearguard, which was poſted between the Caſtle of *Mondragone* and *Carinoli*, Four Miles below the Bridge of the *French*, to march and make an Attack upon their Bridge, while he himſelf, with the Vanguard, which was commanded by *Alviano*, and the main Battle which had paſſed with him, directed his March towards their Army; which having that ſame Night received Advice that the *Spaniards* had laid a Bridge, and were already paſſing the River, were under a very great Surpriſe and Conſternation. For they had reſolved to attempt nothing themſelves till the Return of the fair Seaſon, and had flattered themſelves that their Enemies lay in the ſame careleſs and idle Poſture, and were therefore in the greater Commotion on this bold and unforeſeen Attempt. And as Fear is much readier at hand in ſuch ſudden Accidents, than Counſel or Reſolution, the Viceroy, tho' he had aſſembled a Number of Soldiers that flocked to him from *Trajetto* and the circumjacent Places, where

A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503. where they had been diſperſed, and detached *Alegre* with a Party of Horſe and Foot towards *Suio*, to diſpute the Paſſage, yet the Troops, finding that they were too late, and Fear getting the better of all Reaſonings and Conſiderations, the whole Army decamped at Midnight in great Diſorder from the Tower of the *Garigliano*, in order to retire to *Gaeta*, abandoning moſt part of their Ammunition, and Nine Pieces of heavy Cannon, with the Wounded, and great Numbers of Sick.

French decamp in the Night.

GONSALVO, on the News of their Decamping, followed them with his Army, detaching *Proſpero Colonna* with ſome light Horſe before, with an Intent to haraſs, and ſo retard them in their March. *Proſpero* coming up with their Rear before *Scandi*, begun to ſkirmiſh with them; but the *French* held on their Way, oftentimes making a Stand, and cloſing their Ranks to prevent Diſorder at Bridges and at ſtrong Paſſes, from whence, after ſuſtaining the Purſuers a while, they retreated always with ſome Loſs. The

Order

Order of their Retreat was in the following Manner: The Artillery proceeded foremoſt, next marched the Foot, and the Horſe brought up the Rear, the hindmoſt of which were continually ſkirmiſhing with the Enemy. Proceeding in this Manner, ſometimes halting, and ſometimes ſkirmiſhing, they got to the Bridge that is before the Mole of *Gaeta*. Here the Viceroy was neceſſitated to make a Stand with ſome Part of his Men at Arms, to give time for the Artillery to proceed. For the heavy Pieces of Cannon being incapable of advancing with the ſame Degree of Celerity as the Troops, were overtaken by their Foot, and intermingled with them. In this Place happened a ſmart Engagement, in the Midſt of which arrived the *Spaniſh* Rearguard, which had paſſed the River without Reſiſtance, in the Boats of the ſame Bridge which the *French* had broken, and took the ſtrait Road to *Gaeta*, whilſt *Gonſalvo*, with the reſt of the Army, had marched all along by the Sea Coaſt. The Fight was very hot for ſome time at the Bridge of the Mole, the *French*, tho' much

A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503. intimidated, defending themſelves chiefly by the Advantage of the Situation, whilſt the *Spaniards*, thinking the Victory already in their Hand, attacked them with the utmoſt Reſolution. At laſt the *Frenchmen* could no longer reſiſt, and fearing that their Way ſhould be intercepted by a Party of Troops which *Gonſalvo* had ſent forwards along the Sea Coaſt for that Purpoſe, began to retreat in Diſorder. Their Enemies followed them, and arriving at the Head of two Ways, of which one leads to *Itri* and the other to *Gaeta*, the *French* betook themſelves to open Flight, with the Loſs of many killed on the Spot, among whom was *Bernardino Adorno*, Lieutenant of Fifty Lances. The Cannon was abandoned, with all the Train Horſes, many were taken Priſoners, and the reſt eſcaped into *Gaeta*, being purſued by the Conquerors to the very Gates of the City.

French totally defeated by the Spaniards.

At the ſame time *Fabritio Colonna*, being ordered by *Gonſalvo*, paſſed the River with Five Hundred Horſe and One Thouſand

Thouſand Foot, and proceeded to *Ponte Corvo* and *Frace*, and with the good Will of the greater Part of the Gentlemen and Peaſants of that Country, plundered and ſtripped the Companies of *Lodovico della Mirandola* and *Aleſſandro da Trivulzi*. Beſides theſe, many of thoſe who had been quartered in *Fondi*, *Itri*, and the Places round about them, were diſarmed and ſtripped by the Peaſants. Theſe Wretches having notice that the *Spaniards* had laid a Bridge over the River, did not attempt to join the *French* Army at the Tower of the *Garigliano*, but endeavoured to ſave themſelves by diſorderly diſperſing, and ſkulking about the Country. A greater Misfortune befel *Piero de' Medici*, who had followed the *French* Camp, and ſome other Noblemen. For at the Decampment of the Army from the *Garigliano*, theſe unfortunate People entered on board a Bark, which was laden with Four Pieces of Artillery, to be tranſported to *Gaeta*, which being over burthened, and the Winds contrary, ſunk at the Mouth of the River, and all were drowned.

A. D. 1503.

Piero de' Medici drowned.

A. D. 1503.

GONSALVO, the Night following, quartered his Army at *Caſtellone* and *Mola*, and the Day after appeared before *Gaeta*, in which Place, beſides the *French* Officers, the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano* had taken Refuge. He immediately took poſſeſſion of the Suburb, and of the Mount, which had been abandoned by the *French*. Tho' there were in *Gaeta* a ſufficient Number of Men to defend it, and there was no Want of Proviſions, and the Place lay very convenient for receiving Succours by Sea, yet the *French* were in low Spirits, and by no means diſpoſed to endure the Tedioufneſs of waiting for uncertain Supplies. They immediately therefore applied themſelves to make an Agreement, and, by Conſent of the reſt, the Bailiff of *Dijon*, *Santa Columba*, and *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, went out of the City to treat with *Gonſalvo* *.

Gaeta capitulates.

IT

* The General Officers that capitulated with *Gonſalvo* were *Alegre* on the Part of the *French*, *Antonio Baſſetto* for the *Swiſs*, and *Teodoro Trivulzio* for the *Italians*, *Giovio*.

A. D. 1504.

IT was agreed, on the Firſt Day of the Year 1504, that *Gaeta* and its Caſtle ſhould be ſurrendered to *Gonſalvo*, the Garriſon having free Liberty to remove themſelves and their Effects, either by Sea or Land, out of the Kingdom of *Naples*; and that *Aubigni*, and the other Priſoners on both Sides, ſhould be ſet at Liberty. But this Article was not ſo clearly expreſſed, but that it gave occaſion to *Gonſalvo* to queſtion whether it was intended that, by Virtue of this Convention the Barons of the Kingdom of *Naples* were to be releaſed. * Articles of the Surrender.

SUCH was the Defeat of the Army of the *French* King at the *Garigliano*, on whoſe Banks it had encamped Fifty Days, which was owing no leſs to their own diſorderly Management, than to the Valour of their Enemies; a Defeat highly worthy to be remembered, becauſe it was followed by the entire Loſs of ſo noble

* Theſe Barons were *Andrea Matteo*, *Acquaviva*, and *Onoreto* and *Alfonſo Sanſeverini*, who were confined in the Dungeon of a Tower, called the *Military Ditch* in *Caſtel Nuovo*. *Giovio*.

A. D. 1504. and potent a Kingdom, and by the Eſtabliſhment of the Dominion of the *Spaniards*; and yet more memorable for the great Superiority of the *French* at the Beginning, and their plentiful Supply of all Kinds of Proviſions both by Sea and Land, which are required for a War. And moreover becauſe they were ſubdued with ſo great Facility, without the Blood or Hazard of their Conquerors; and beſides, tho' but few of them died by the Sword of their Enemies, yet, from various Accidents, a very ſmall Number of ſo mighty an Army eſcaped; it being well known, that of the Foot who ſaved themſelves by Flight, and alſo of thoſe, who by the Capitulation were allowed to retire from *Gaeta* by Land, part died on the Road, periſhing with the Cold and Infirmities; and ſuch of them as reached as far as *Rome*, lived, for the moſt part, in a naked and miſerable Condition; many died in the Hoſpitals, and many periſhed in the Night with Cold and Hunger, in the Streets and open Places. And, whatever might be the Cauſe, whether it were the Malignity of For-

Fortune, which ſhewed itſelf equally averſe to the *French* Nobles and common Soldiers, or to the Diſtemper contracted by the Inconveniences ſuffered in and about the *Garigliano*, many of thoſe, who after the Capitulation went off by Sea from *Gaeta*, where they left the beſt part of their Horſes, died either in the Voyage, or as ſoon as they arrived in *France*; among whom were the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, *Sandricourt*, and the Bailiff *de la Montagne*, and many other Gentlemen of great Note *. It was alſo taken into Conſideration, what might be imputed to the Diſagreement and ill Conduct of the *French* Generals, and to the Severity of the Seaſon; and that the Minds of the *French* and *Swiſs* were not ſo well qualified to endure Delay, and ſupport the Tediouſneſs of a lingering State of Things, as well as their Bodies not ſo well tempered to undergo Inconveniences and Fatigues, as thoſe of the *Spaniards*. Two Things chiefly contributed to the Defeat

A. D. 1504.

* The Marquis of *Saluzzo*, *Giovio* ſays, died and was buried at *Genoa*; *Sandricourt* was taken ill on the other ſide of the *Alps*, and voluntarily haſtened his own Death. *Baſſeio* loſt his Senſes, and died mad.

A. D. 1504. of the *French*. The firſt was the long Stay of their Army in the Territory of *Rome*, on occaſion of the Pope's Death; which was the Cauſe that they were overtaken by the Winter, and gave time for *Gonſalvo* to take into his Service the *Orſini*, before the *French* had entered the Kingdom of *Naples*. Whereas, had they entered upon Action while the Seaſon favoured, it is not to be doubted but that *Gonſalvo*, who was at that time much inferior in Force, and not favoured by the Severity of the Weather, muſt have abandoned the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, and retired into a few fortified Places. The other Cauſe was the Avarice of the King's Commiſſioners, in defrauding their Maſter in the Pay of the Soldiers, and, with the ſame covetous Deſign, diſtributing the Proviſions in a ſcanty and irregular Manner, which did not a little contribute to the Diminution of the Army. For the King had, with the utmoſt Care, provided all things neceſſary in ſuch a Meaſure, that we are aſſured that, at the Time of the Defeat, there were in *Rome*, by his Majeſty's Order,

Cauſes of the Ruin of the *French* Army.

Order, lodged great Sums of Money, and a large Magazine of Proviſions. And tho' at laſt, after abundance of Complaints from the General Officers, and from the whole Army, there was a more plentiful Diſtribution of Victuals, yet there was ſuch a Scarcity before, that this Inconvenience, in conjunction with other Grievances, was the Cauſe of ſuch great Infirmities, and why ſo many left the Army, or diſperſed themſelves in the circumjacent Places, from whence, at laſt, proceeded a total Ruin. For as, with reſpect to the Suſtenance of a Body, it is not ſufficient that the Head only be in right Order, but it is neceſſary alſo that the other Members perform their Office; ſo it is not enough that the Prince be without Blame in his Adminiſtration, if his Miniſters neglect to diſcharge their Duty with a proportionable Degree of Care and Honeſty *. *A. D.* 1504.

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* So it fared with King *Francis* before *Pavia*, as *Giovio* tells us in his Life of *Peſcara*. But thoſe Treaſurers of the King, who, as he informs us in the Life of *Gonſalvo*, were *Corcutier*, and the Bailiff of *Cadome*, were degraded, declared infamous, and beheaded.

A. D. 1504.

IN this ſame Year, while theſe remarkable Events happened in *Italy*, a Peace was concluded between the Ottoman Emperor *Bajazet*, and the *Venetians*, very much at the Deſire of both Parties *. For *Bajazet* was a Prince of a mild Diſpoſition, quite different from the Fierceneſs of his Father, and addicted to Learning and the Study of the ſacred Books of his Religion. His natural Genius was utterly averſe to Arms, for tho' he had commenced a War, with a very powerful Apparatus, both by Sea and Land, and in the two firſt Years of its Progreſs, had, in the *Morea*, taken *Naupatto* (now called *Lepanto*) *Modone*, *Corone*, and *Giunco*, he did not proſecute it with the ſame Ardor, being reſtrained not only by his natural Love of Quiet, but perhaps alſo by his Apprehenſions that the Chriſtian Princes, from a Concern for their own Safety, or out of Love to their Religion, ſhould enter into a Confederacy againſt

Peace between *Bajazet* and the *Venetians*.

* This Peace was firſt ſollicited by the *Turk*, and *Zaccaria Freſco*, Secretary of the Council of Ten, was employed in the Negotiation. *Bembo*.

againſt him. For Pope *Alexander* had ordered ſome light Galleys to the Aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, and, in conjunction with them, had aſſiſted *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Bohemia* and of *Hungary*, with a Sum of Money, to enable him to begin a War on the Borders of *Turky*. And the Kings of *France* and *Spain* had each of them, tho' not at the ſame time, ſent their Fleets to join that of the *Venetians*. But more heartily welcome and acceptable was this Peace to the *Venetians*, on account of the Interruption of their mercantile Commerce in many Parts of the *Levant*, by the War, to their very great Damage, both public and private; and alſo becauſe the City of *Venice*, which uſes to import vaſt Quantities of Corn from the Towns ſubject to the *Turks*, would have found it very inconvenient to be deprived of that Commodity; but much more ſtill becauſe in their Wars with other Princes being accuſtomed to make ſome Addition to their Dominions, they dreaded nothing more than the Power of the *Ottomans*, by whom they were conſtantly overmatched. For *Amu-* A. D. 1504.

rat,

A. D. 1504. *rat*, the Grandfather of *Bajazet*, had taken the City of *Teſſalonica*, now called *Salonichi*, which belonged to the *Venetians*; and afterwards *Mahomet* his Father had, in a War that laſted Sixteen Years, taken from them the Iſland of *Negropont*, a great Part of *Peloponeſo*, now called the *Morea*, *Scudri*, and many other Towns in *Macedonia* and *Albania*. Hence they never maintained a War againſt the *Turks* but with extreme Difficulty, and at a vaſt Expence, and without any Hopes of Advantage. Beſides, as their Fears were ſo much the greater of being attacked at the ſame time by ſome Chriſtian Princes, they were always very deſirous of being in Peace with the *Ottomans*. By the Conditions of this Treaty *Bajazet* was to keep poſſeſſion of what he had conquered, and the *Venetians* were to retain the Iſle of *Cefalonia*, antiently called *Leucade*, but obliged to yield up the Iſland of *Nerito*, in modern Denomination *Santa Maura*.

BUT the Trouble and Concern of the *Venetians* in this *Turkiſh* War were not

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ſo great as the Moleſtation and Damages they ſuſtained by the Interception of their Spicery Trade by the King of *Portugal*. The Mart for Spices was *Alexandria*, a very famous City of *Egypt*, whence they were exported in *Venetian* Bottoms to the City of *Venice*, and thence diſperſed over all the Nations of Chriſtendom, with vaſt Profit to the Merchants. What gave occaſion to this Alteration being one of the moſt remarkable Events that has happened in the World for many Ages, and having, by the Loſs which the *Venetians* ſuſtained by it, ſome Connexion with the Affairs of *Italy*, it will not be altogether foreign to the Purpoſe to be ſomewhat prolix in our Relation. A. D. 1504.

THOSE who were of a ſpeculative Genius, and had conſidered the admirable Structure and Motions of the Heavens, have taught Poſterity to imagine, from their globular Form, a Line drawn from Eaſt to Weſt, equidiſtant in all Points from the Northern and Southern Poles; and called it the Equinoctial, becauſe when the Sun is under it the Days and Nights

A. D. 1504. Nights are equal. The Length of this Line they divided, in their Imagination, into 360 Parts, which they called Degrees; and in like manner is a Circle that paſſes through the Poles divided into 360 Degrees. According to this Rule of theirs, our Coſmographers have meaſured and divided the Earth, and imagined an Equinoctial Line on the Earth, which falls perpendicularly under * the celeſtial Line figured by Aſtronomers, and have divided it in like manner, together with the Circuit of the Earth, meaſured by a Line falling perpendicularly under the Poles, into 360 Degrees of Latitude; ſo that from our Pole to the ſouthern Pole they eſtimate 180 Degrees, and from either of the Poles to the Equinoctial Line is a Diſtance of 90 Degrees. Theſe are the general Principles eſtabliſhed by Coſmographers; but as to Particulars relating to the habitable Parts of the Earth, after delivering down to us their Notions of

* By *falling perpendicularly under* our Author means the ſame as to ſay, that theſe terreſtrial Lines are in the ſame Plane with the celeſtial of the ſame Denomination, or that a Perpendicular will paſs through both their Centers.

of that Part which lies under our Hemiſphere, they had perſuaded themſelves, that that Part of the Earth which lies under the torrid Zone repreſented in the Heavens by Aſtronomers, and containing within it the Equinoctial, as being neareſt the Sun, is, by reaſon of its Heat, uninhabitable; and that from our Hemiſphere it was impoſſible to proceed to the Countries under the torrid Zone, or to thoſe which lie beyond it towards the Southern Pole, which *Ptolomy*, who is univerſally acknowledged to be the Prince of Coſmographers, called Lands and Seas unknown. Hence that Author and others preſuppoſed, that if a Perſon had a Mind to paſs from our Hemiſphere to the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Gulphs, or to that Part of *India* which the Victories of *Alexander* firſt diſcovered to the *Europeans*, he muſt be obliged to go thither by Land, or after approaching thither as far as poſſible, by ſailing up the *Mediterranean* Sea, to perform the reſt of the Journey by Land. *A. D.* 1504.

THE

A. D. 1504.

Navigations and Diſcoveries of the *Portugueſe.*

THE Falſity of theſe Opinions and Suppoſitions has been demonſtrated in our Times by the Navigation of the *Portugueſe*, who had begun, many Years ago, under the Kings of *Portugal*, from a Deſire of mercantile Gain, to coaſt it along the Shores of *Africa*, till by little and little they proceeded as far as the Iſles of *Cape Verde*, called by the Antients, as many are of opinion, the *Heſperides*, diſtant 14 Degrees from the Equinoctial Line towards the North Pole. Their Boldneſs ſtill increaſing, they ventured farther and farther, till after fetching a long Compaſs, they arrived at length at the *Cape of Good Hope* in South Latitude. This Promontory is the moſt diſtant of any Part of *Africa* from the Equinoctial Line, being removed from it 38 Degrees. From this Cape they ſtretched away to the Eaſt as far as the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Gulfs, in which Places the Merchants of *Alexandria* uſed to purchaſe their Spices, which were partly of the Growth of the Country, but the greater Part of them was brought from the *Molucca* Iſlands, and

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ſome from *India*, and afterwards conveyed by Land through a long and very inconvenient Road, at a great Expence, to *Alexandria*. There they were bought up by the *Venetian* Merchants, who exported them to *Venice*, from whence they ſupplied all Chriſtendom with Spices, to their immenſe Profit. For having monopolized that Commodity, they ſet what Price they pleaſed on it; and in the ſame Ships that exported it from *Alexandria* they carried thither great Quantities of mercantile Goods; and their Veſſels which carried theſe Spices into *France*, *Flanders*, *England*, and other Places, returned with Ladings of other Merchandiſe to *Venice*; which Way of trafficking at the ſame time greatly increaſed the Revenues of the Republic, by the Duties and Cuſtoms. A. D. 1504.

BUT the *Portugueſe* ſailing from *Liſbon*, the Seat of the King of *Portugal*, into theſe remote Parts, contracted Acquaintance and Friendſhip with the Kings of *Calicut*, and other neighbouring Towns in the *Indian* Sea; and afterwards, by degrees, penetrating into the moſt remote

A. D. 1504. Places, in proceſs of Time erected Fortreſſes in convenient Situations, and entering into Alliances with ſome Cities of the Country, ſubjected others by Force of Arms. By virtue of theſe Diſcoveries and Settlements, they transferred the Spice Trade, which uſed to be managed in *Alexandria*, into their own Hands, firſt conveying the Spices by Sea to *Portugal*, and afterwards exporting that rich Commodity to the ſame Countries, which had before been ſupplied with it by the *Venetians*. A Navigation truly wonderful for the Space of Sixteen Thouſand Miles, through Seas wholly unknown, under other Stars, and other Heavens, and with other Inſtruments; for after paſſing the Equinoctial Line they are no longer guided by the Pole Star, and remain deprived of the Uſe of the Magnet; and they have no Place to put in for Shelter or Refreſhments in ſo long a Voyage, but on the unknown Coaſts of Lands inhabited by hoſtile Barbarians of ſtrange Language, Religion, and Manners. But yet, in ſpite of all theſe Difficulties, this Navigation is by length of Time become ſo familiar, that the

The Spicery Trade transferred to the *Portugueſe*.

the ſame Voyage which formerly required Ten Months, is now performed with leſs Danger in Six. *A. D.* 1504.

BUT yet more aſtoniſhing was the Navigation of the *Spaniards*, which commenced in the Year 1490 *, for the Diſcoveries of *Chriſtopher Columbus* a *Genoeſe*. That Gentleman had made ſeveral Voyages on the Ocean, and conjecturing, from his Obſervations on certain Winds, what afterwards appeared to be Truth, he obtained of the *Spaniſh* Monarchs ſome Ships, with which he ſailed Weſtwards, and at the End of 33 Days diſcovered in the utmoſt Extremity of our Hemiſphere certain Iſlands, of which none had the leaſt Notice before; they were ſituated in a happy Climate, were of a fertile Soil; Diſcovery of *America*.

* This Navigation of *Columbus* did not commence preciſely in the Year 1500, but two Years after, as appears from a Multitude of Authors who have writ expreſly of it, and from what is publiſhed under the Name of *Columbus*, where he ſays, that he ſet ſail from the Coaſts of *Spain* on *Sept.* 1, 1492. But our Author takes his Beginning from the firſt happy Succeſs of the Catholic Monarchs in Navigation, which was in the Year 1490, when, by the Aſſiſtance of King *Ferdinand*, the *Fortunate Iſlands* (now the *Canaries*) were firſt diſcovered.

A. D. 1504. and the Inhabitants, except ſome Tribes of Savages, who fed on human Fleſh, were in general of great Simplicity of Manners, and contented with what the Bounty of Nature afforded them; were never tormented with Ambition or Avarice, but deſerved Compaſſion in that they had no eſtabliſhed Religion, no Notion of Learning, or Skill in mechanic Arts, were unpractiſed in Arms and the Art of War, and knew nothing by Speculation or Experience; in ſhort, they were a kind of tame Animals, and ready to fall a very eaſy Prey to any Invader. The *Spaniards*, afterwards allured by the Facility of ſeizing the Country, and the Richneſs of it, for there had been diſcovered very rich Veins of Gold, ſoon tranſported themſelves thither in great Numbers, and ſettled as in their own proper Habitations.

COLUMBUS puſhed his Diſcoveries much farther, as did after him *Americus Veſpucius* *, a *Florentine*; and many others

* He wrote his four Voyages, two of which he made by Order of *Ferdinand* King of *Caſtile* towards the Weſt,

others ſucceſſively diſcovered other Iſlands, and very large Tracts of Land on the Continent, and in ſome few Parts of them the Marks of an eſtabliſhed Syſtem of Cuſtoms and civil Polity; for the Inhabitants had public and private Edifices, were well cloathed, and affable in their Converſation; but all of them, in general, knew not the Uſe of Arms, and were eaſy to become a Prey. But this vaſt Extent of Land, which, without compariſon, exceeds all that was known to be inhabited, the *Spaniards* have peopled with a new Race of People, tranſported thither by their frequent Navigations; and ſometimes by digging Gold and Silver from Veins, which are to be found in many Places, or clearing them from the Sands of Rivers, or procuring them of the Inhabitants in Exchange for Toys of very ſmall Value, and ſometimes by robbing the Places where they were repoſited, an infinite Quantity of thoſe precious Metals has been imported into *Spain* by

A. D. 1504.

Weſt, and begun *May* 20, 1497; the other two under a Commiſſion from *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, towards the South, *May* 1, 1501.

A. D. 1504. by private Adventurers, tho' with the King's Licence, at their own Charges, every one paying his Majeſty a fifth Part of what he got poſſeſſed of, by digging in the Mines, or by any other Means. Nay, the Boldneſs of the *Spaniards* has carried them yet much farther, for ſome Ships of theirs having ſtretched along the Coaſt of the Continent towards the Southern Pole, to the Latitude of 53 Degrees South, afterwards entered into a narrow Sea, which opened them a Paſſage into a vaſt Ocean, through which they ſailed to the Eaſt Indies, and thence returned home by the ſame Courſe which the *Portugueſe* take in their Eaſtern Voyages, having, as it appears with the higheſt Degree of Certainty, fetched a Compaſs round the Globe of the Earth, Worthy, indeed, are thoſe *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*, and particularly *Columbus*, the firſt Undertaker of this wonderful and moſt dangerous Navigation, to be celebrated with eternal Praiſes, for their Skill and Induſtry, for their Boldneſs, Vigilance, and Hardineſs, which have enlightened our Age with the Knowledge of

The Earth encompaſſed.

ſuch

ſuch great and marvellous Things, that were hitherto buried in Obſcurity. But yet more worthy would they be to be celebrated for their Undertaking, had they not been induced to undergo ſuch great Perils and Fatigues by an immoderate Thirſt after Gold and Riches, but by a Deſire to improve themſelves or others in Knowledge, or to propagate the Chriſtian Faith, tho' theſe Ends were in ſome meaſure anſwered by their Diſcoveries, the Natives in many Places being converted to our Religion. By theſe Navigations it is manifeſt, that the Antients were miſtaken in many Things relating to the Knowledge of the Earth. For the Equinoctial Line has been paſſed, the torrid Zone found habitable, as well as the Zones next the Poles, contrary to their Opinion, who held that theſe Polar Zones were not habitable becauſe of their immoderate Cold, on account of their Situation, with reſpect to the Heavens, ſo remote from the Courſe of the Sun. Theſe Navigators have made plain what ſome of the Antients believed, others rejected, that there are Inhabitants on our

A. D. 1504.

Antients miſtaken in their Notions of the Earth.

A. D. 1504. Globe who have their Feet oppoſite to ours, and are called *Antipodes*.

BUT to reſume our Hiſtory, we ſhall proceed to a Narration of Tranſactions that ſucceeded the Surrender of *Gaeta* to the *Spaniards* in 1504.* The News of the Defeat at the *Garigliano*, and of its calamitous Conſequences, filled almoſt the whole Kingdom of *France* with Tears and Lamentations for the Multitude of the Dead, and eſpecially for the Loſs of ſo many of the Nobility, ſo that the whole Court appeared full of Sadneſs and Affliction in their Dreſs, and in many other Marks of Grief; nothing was heard throughout the Kingdom but the Voices of Men and Women curſing the Day in which it firſt entered into the Heads of their Kings, not contented with ſo great an Empire as they had in poſſeſſion, unfortunately to covet the Acquiſition of new States in *Italy*. But no Sorrow could equal that of the King from his Deſpair of ever recovering ſo fine a Kingdom, and ſo

French mortified at their Defeat.

* He had before told us, that *Gaeta* ſurrendered the Firſt Day of the Year 1504.

ſo great a Diminution of his Reputation and Authority. Now he remembered the magnific Speeches he had ſo often thrown out againſt the King of *Spain*, and what mighty Matters he had vainly promiſed himſelf from his Preparations to attack him on ſo many Quarters. And it augmented his Grief and Indignation to conſider, that after he had made ſuch ample Proviſions, with all imaginable Care and Diligence, without the leaſt Intermiſſion, and had to deal with Enemies who were very poor, and in want of all things, he had been ſhamefully overthrown and beaten out of the Field through the avaricious and fraudulent Practices of his Miniſters. This ſet him on making Exclamations to the Heavens, proteſting, with the moſt ſolemn Oaths, that ſince he was ſerved by his own People with ſuch Negligence and Perfidiouſneſs, he would, for the future, never entruſt the Management of a War in the Hands of his Generals, but go himſelf in Perſon at the Head of his Army on every Enterpriſe. But what vexed and tormented his Mind to the higheſt Degree, was his knowing

A. D. 1504.

A. D. 1504. knowing that by the Loſs of ſuch an Army, and the Death of ſo many Generals, and ſuch a Number of the Nobility, his Forces were ſo weakened, that if *Maximilian* ſhould excite any Commotion in the Dutchy of *Milan*, or if the *Spaniſh* Army ſhould march out of the Kingdom of *Naples* in purſuit of their Victory, he very much doubted whether he ſhould be able to preſerve that State, eſpecially if *Aſcanio Sforza*, whoſe Government was ardently deſired by all Ranks of People, ſhould join either of theſe Sovereigns. As for the King of the *Romans*, no one indeed wondered that he ſhould let ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity, it being his old Cuſtom ſeldom or never to take Advantage of Times and Occaſions. But every one had perſuaded himſelf to the contrary of *Gonſalvo*, of whom the Partiſans of *France* in *Italy* ſtood under the greateſt Apprehenſions, leſt that General, in confidence of his Superiority, and knowing that a victorious Army could never want Money nor Opportunities, ſhould ſpeedily march in purſuit of his Victory, in order to ſubvert the Government of *Milan*, and

and in his Way thither change the Syſtem of public Affairs in *Tuſcany*. Had he taken this Step, it was generally believed, that the King of *France*, exhauſted of Money, and deſponding in Mind, would have yielded without Reſiſtance to the Fury of ſo great a Storm; eſpecially ſince the Inclinations of his Soldiers were utterly averſe to going into *Italy*, and thoſe who had returned from *Gaeta*, and paſſed the Mountains, deſpiſed the King's Orders, which were delivered to them at *Genoa*. And it plainly appeared that the King had laid aſide all Thoughts of War, was wholly intent on a Treaty of Peace with *Maximilian*, and no leſs deſirous of continuing his Negotiations with the King of *Spain*, which ſuffered no Intermiſſion during the Heat of the War, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors at that Time, and now at preſent, attending his Court. *A. D.* 1504.

BUT *Gonſalvo*, whom we ſhall hereafter mention oftner by the Name of the *Great Captain*, a Name at firſt given him out of a *Spaniſh* Bravado, but afterwards univerſally confirmed on account of his glo- *Gonſalvo* acquires the Name of *Great Captain*.

A. D. 1504. glorious Victories, made no Uſe of ſo fair an Opportunity, either becauſe finding himſelf quite bare of Money, and deep in Arrears to his Army, it was impoſſible for him to make them march in Expectation of future Gains *, or diſtant Payments, the Soldiers demanding their Money, and to be put into Quarters; or becauſe he was neceſſitated to act in obedience to the Orders of his Sovereigns; or, laſtly, becauſe he did not think it ſafe to march his Army out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, before he had cleared the Country of all his Enemies. For *Lewis d'Ars*, one of the *French* Generals, after the Defeat at *Cirignuola*, had retired with the ſhattered Remains of the Army, which were not to be deſpiſed, into *Venoſa*, and during the Encampments of the Armies on the Banks of the *Garigliano*, had taken Poſſeſſion of *Troja* and *San Severino*, and kept all *Puglia* in Arms; and ſome Barons of the *Anjouin* Party had retired upon their Eſtates, and ſtood upon the Defenſive, openly avowing their Attachment to the King of *France*. To all theſe Reaſons it

* By Plunder, or raiſing Contributions.

it may be added, that ſoon after the Victory, the Great Captain fell ill of a dangerous Diſorder, which diſabling him from going upon any Expedition in Perſon, he ſent *Alviano* with Part of the Army to ſubdue *Lewis d'Ars*. A. D. 1504.

By *Gonſalvo*'s Reſolution, or Neceſſity, not to purſue for the preſent his Victory out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Affairs of *Italy* were kept in Suſpenſe rather than in Action. For the *Venetians*, according to Cuſtom, ſtood on their Watch, expecting the Events of Things. The *Florentines* ſeemed to acquieſce, and be well enough contented, that at a Time when they deſpaired of receiving any Succours from the King of *France*, the Great Captain did not invade their Dominions. The Pontiff deferring the Execution of his vaſt Projects till another Time, uſed all his Endeavours to get *Valentino* to yield up to him the Fortreſſes of *Forli*, *Ceſena*, and *Bertinoro*, which was all that remained to the Duke in *Romagna*; for *Antonio de gli Ordelaffi* had a few Days before got Poſſeſſion of the Fortreſs of *For-*

D. A. 1504. *Forlimpopoli*, by bribing the Governor. *Valentino* was drawn in at laſt to give his Conſent to aſſign over to the Pontiff the Fortreſs of *Ceſena*; but *Pietro Doviedo*, a *Spaniard*, who went with the Aſſignment to receive that Place in the Name of his Holineſs, was hanged by the Governor, who ſaid it would be a Diſgrace to him to obey his Maſter while he was a Priſoner, and therefore he who preſumed to requeſt it of him deſerved to be puniſhed. The Pontiff therefore loſing all Hopes of getting the Fortreſſes into his Hands, without ſetting *Valentino* at Liberty, came to an Agreement with him, of which for the better Security a Bill was expedited in Conſiſtory. By this Agreement it was ordered that *Valentino* ſhould be committed to the Caſtle of *Oſtia*, and remained in the abſolute Power of *Bernardino Carvagial*, a *Spaniard*, and Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who was to ſet him at Liberty whenever he ſhould reſtore to the Pope the Fortreſſes of *Ceſena* and *Bertinoro*, and aſſign over to his Holineſs the Caſtle of *Furli*, and give Security on the Bank of *Rome* for Fifteen Thouſand Ducats; for the Gover-

Pope agrees with *Valentino*.

nor

ror of *Forli* had promiſed to deliver it up on receipt of the Aſſignment of the aforeſaid Sum, which was to indemnify him for the Coſts he pretended he had been at. *A. D.* 1504.

But the Pope had other Deſigns; for tho' he would not openly break his plighted Faith, he had it in his Thoughts to prolong *Valentino*'s Delivery, either out of Fear that, when he was ſet at Liberty, he would find Means that the Governor of *Forli* ſhould refuſe to ſurrender the Caſtle, or becauſe he remembered the Injuries he had received from him and his Father, or to gratify the Hatred of the Public, which the Duke had deſervedly incurred. *Valentino* ſuſpecting the Pope's Deſign, ſecretly ſollicited the Great Captain to grant him a Paſs for his free Paſſage to *Naples*, and to ſend Two Gallies to carry him off from *Oſtia*. His Requeſts being granted by *Gonſalvo*, the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who had the ſame Suſpicion as *Valentino*, as ſoon as he had Notice that, beſides the Security given in *Rome* for the Fifteen Thouſand Ducats, the Governors of *Ceſena* and *Bertinoro* had delivered up theſe For-

A. D. 1504. Fortreſſes, gave the Duke Liberty to depart without the Knowledge of the Pope. Then *Valentino*, without waiting the Arrival of the Gallies, which the Great Captain was to ſend him, went privately by Land to *Nettuno*, from whence he ſailed in a ſmall Bark to the Caſtle of *Mondragone*, and from thence travelled by Land to *Naples*, where he was joyfully received by *Gonſalvo* with great Marks of Honour. In *Naples* he often held ſecret Conſultations with *Gonſalvo*, and ſollicited him to fit him out for a Voyage to *Piſa*, propoſing to him the mighty Advantages that would reſult to the Affairs of his Sovereigns from his Settlement in that City *. *Gonſalvo* ſeemed to approve his Project, offered him Gallies for his Convoy, and gave him Leave to raiſe in the Kingdom what Foot Soldiers he thought neceſſary to carry with him. He flattered the Duke with theſe Hopes, and delayed the Time till he had received an Anſwer from

* It appears that *Valentino*'s Deſigns were not ſo bent on *Piſa*, as to paſs through the Territory of *Lucca*, and to paſs the *Apennines* by the *Carfagnano*, and by the Way of *Modena* get into *Romagna*, amongſt his old Friends. *Giovio*.

from his Sovereigns, conformable to what he intended to do with him, conſulting him every Day about the Affairs of *Piſa* and *Tuſcany*, *Alviano* offering at the ſame time to attack the *Florentines*, out of a longing Deſire to reſtore the *Medici* to *Florence*. The Gallies and Forces being in Readineſs for their Departure the next Day, *Valentino* had a long Conference in the Evening with *Gonſalvo*, who entertained him with great Demonſtrations of Love, and embraced him at parting, proceeding with the ſame Diſſimulation which old *Ferdinando* of *Aragon* is ſaid to have uſed towards *Jacopo Piccinino*. As ſoon as the Duke came out of the Chamber, he was by his Orders arreſted, and detained in the Caſtle; at the ſame time Directions were given to ſearch the Apartment where he lodged, and to bring away the Paſs which he had received before he departed from *Oſtia*. The Great Captain alledged that he had Orders from his Sovereigns to make him a Priſoner; that their Commands were of more Force than his Paſs, becauſe a Security granted by the private Authority of a Miniſter was of no

A. D. 1504.

Valentino arreſted, and ſent Priſoner to *Spain*.

A. D. 1504. Validity, unleſs it was in Conformity to the Will of his Maſter *. To this Reaſon he added, that it was a Point of Neceſſity to confine him, becauſe, not contented with thoſe great and manifold Enormities he had been guilty of in Times paſt, he was ſeeking Occaſions to make Alterations in Governments for the Time to come, deviſing Novelties, loving Diſcord, propagating Scandal, and acting the Part of an Incendiary, in raiſing new Commotions, and deſtroying the Peace of *Italy*. Soon after he was ordered to be put on board of a light Galley, and ſent Priſoner to *Spain*, attended by none of his Servants, except one Page, and there confined in the Caſtle of *Medina del Campo*.

Truce between *France* and *Spain*.

About the ſame Time the King of *France* and the Sovereigns of *Spain* concluded a Truce both for Land and Sea, *Italy*, as well as the Parts beyond the Mountains, being included. This Truce was heartily deſired by the King of *France*, and

* *Giovio* very well vindicates *Gonſalvo* from the Charge of breaking his Faith, and ſhews that the firſt Author of the Impriſonment of *Valentino*, was the Pope, for his own Security, as well as that of all *Italy*.

and readily embraced by the *Spaniſh* Sovereigns; for they judged it better to eſtabliſh their new Acquiſitions in Safety and Tranquillity by peaceable Means, than by a Renewal of Wars, which are full of Trouble and Expence, and often deceive our Hopes in the End. *A. D.* 1504.

THE Conditions of the Truce were, That each Party ſhould keep what was at preſent in their Poſſeſſion; that mutual Commerce ſhould be free throughout their reſpective Kingdoms and States, except in the Kingdom of *Naples*. By this Exception the Great Captain obtained in an indirect Way what was directly forbidden him. For on the Frontiers of the Places held by the *French*, which were only *Roſſano* in *Calabria*, *Oira* in the Territory of *Otranto*, and *Venoſa*, *Converſano*, and *Caſtel del Monte* in *Puglia*, he poſted Troops, which prevented all Communication between the Soldiers and Inhabitants of thoſe Towns, and the Places in the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*. By this means the *French* were ſoon reduced to ſuch Straits, that *Lewis d'Ars*, and the other Soldiers and Articles of the Truce.

A. D. 1504. Barons of theſe Towns finding that the Inhabitants, unable to ſupport themſelves under ſuch preſſing Difficulties, were determined to yield themſelves up to the *Spaniards*, quitted the Places, and retired out of thoſe Territories *.

Spaniſh Soldiers diſorderly.

But the Kingdom of *Naples*, tho' the Enemies were every where routed and diſperſed, did not enjoy the Fruits of Peace. For the *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who were more than a Year in Arrears, not content with the free Quarters provided for them by the Great Captain in different Towns for their Subſiſtence, till he could be provided with Money, behaved very indiſcreetly, and in an arbitrary Manner with the Inhabitants, to which they pretended a Right, which the Soldiers call Quartering at Diſcretion, till they grew ſo audacious, that at length they loſt all Obedience to Order and Diſcipline, and, to the high Diſpleaſure and Mortification of the Great Captain, ſeized on *Capua* and *Caſ-*

* By the Treaty *Gonſalvo* was directly forbidden to take theſe Towns in an hoſtile Manner, but, by the Exception of Commerce, he obtained them in an indirect Way.

Caſtello a Mare, which they refuſed to evacuate, before they were paid their whole Arrears. Theſe long Arrears amounting to a vaſt Sum of Money, it was impoſſible to pay them off, without exceſſively burthening with Taxes the Kingdom, which was already drained and exhauſted by the long Wars. Miſerable was the Condition of the People, for the Remedy was far worſe than the Diſeaſe, the Caſe being the more deplorable, as it was new, and without a Precedent. For tho' ever ſince the Times of Antiquity, in which military Diſcipline was ſeverely exerciſed, the Soldiery had been always licentious, and burthenſome to the People, yet they never gave themſelves a Looſe to all Manner of Diſorders, but lived, for the moſt part, upon their Pay; and their Licentiouſneſs was reſtrained within tolerable Bounds. But the *Spaniards* were the firſt in *Italy* that preſumed to maintain themſelves wholly on the Subſtance of the People, to which Degree of Licentiouſneſs they were moved, and perhaps neceſſitated, becauſe, through the Inability of their Sovereigns, they were A. D. 1504.

A. D. 1504. but badly paid. This was the Beginning of a Corruption which ſoon ſpread: For the Imitation of a bad Example always exceeds the Original; whereas, on the contrary, the Imitation of a good one falls ſhort of it. Thus afterward theſe ſame *Spaniards*, and the *Italians*, as well as they, paid or not paid, committed the ſame Diſorders, in ſuch a Manner, that, to the utter Scandal of modern military Diſcipline, the Goods of Friends and Foes are now alike expoſed to the villainous Rapine of the Soldiers.

Pope gets Poſſeſſion of *Imola* and *Forli*.

THE Truce between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, with the Opinion that it would be ſoon followed by a Peace, and in ſome meaſure the Captivity of *Valentino*, entirely ſettled the Affairs of *Romagna*. For firſt *Imola* was delivered into the Hands of the Pope by the free Will of the principal Citizens, and with the Conſent of the Cardinal of *St. Giorgio*, whom the Pontiff had ſoothed with vain Hopes of reſtoring it to his Nephews. And about the ſame time *Forli*, by the Death of *Antonio de gli Ordelaffi*, being taken into Poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion by *Lodovico*, his natural Brother, would have fallen into the Hands of the *Venetians*, to whom *Lodovico*, knowing himſelf unable to keep it, had offered it, had they not been deterred by the preſent Situation of Affairs from accepting it. For they were not willing to increaſe the Indignation of the Pope, who, finding no Reſiſtance, took Poſſeſſion of the Town, *Lodovico* being run away; and, on the Payment of Fifteen Thouſand Ducats, had the Citadel alſo put into his Hands. The Governor of that Fortreſs, a faithful Servant to *Valentino*, could not be induced to ſurrender it, before he had certain Information, from proper Perſons diſpatched to *Naples* for that Purpoſe, of the Impriſonment of his Maſter. *A. D.* 1504.

THUS had the Wars ceaſed in all Parts of *Italy*, except *Tuſcany*, where the *Florentines*, in the Beginning of the Summer, according to Cuſtom, took the Field againſt the *Piſans*. The Government of *Florence* had newly liſted into their Service *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, with ſome Captains of Men at Arms of the Families of the *Florentines* renew the War againſt the *Piſans*.

A. D. 1504. *Colonnas*, and the *Savelli*, and aſſembled a ſtronger Body of Forces than uſual, which had Orders to deſtroy the Corn, and other Produce of the Country of *Piſa*. The *Florentines* were the more encouraged, becauſe they were in no Fear of being diſturbed by the *Spaniards*, not only on account of the *Piſans* not being mentioned by the Sovereigns of *Spain* in the Truce, which gave Liberty to each Party to nominate their Adherents, but becauſe the Great Captain, after his Victory over the *Freneh*, tho' at firſt he had put the *Piſans* in great Hopes, had proceeded in mild Terms with the *Florentines*, imagining, perhaps, that, by ſuch artful Dealing, he might ſeparate them from the King of *France*. And tho' he had afterward loſt all Hope of that Kind, yet he did not think fit by Provocations to give them Cauſe to precipitate themſelves into all the Meaſures of the Court of *France*. He therefore, by means of *Proſpero Colonna*, tho' only by Word of Mouth, entered into a Sort of tacit Intelligence with them, propoſing, that if the King of *France* ſhould happen to make a new Attack on the

the Kingdom of *Naples*, the *Florentines* ſhould give him no Aſſiſtance; and, on the other Part, that he ſhould lend no Succours to the *Piſans*, unleſs the *Florentines* ſent an Army with a Train of Artillery to beſiege the City of *Piſa*, which he was not willing they ſhould recover while they were in Alliance with *France*. The *Florentine* Army not only laid waſte thoſe Parts of the Country of *Piſa*, which had ſuffered in the preceding Years, but now ſpread the ſame Deſolation over *San Roſſore* and *Barbericina*, and after that over *Valdiſerchio* and *Valdiſoli*, Places in the Neighbourhood of the *Piſan*, which, when their Force was not ſo ſtrong, they could not enter without Danger. After theſe Ravages, they laid Siege to *Libràfatta*, the ſmall Garriſon of which was obliged to ſurrender in a few Days at Diſcretion. And it was not doubted but that the *Piſans* would this Year have been conſtrained by Famine to receive the Yoke of the *Florentines*, if they had not been ſuſtained by their Neighbours, eſpecially by the *Genoeſe*, and *Luccheſe* *; as for

A. D. 1504.

Librafatta ſurrendered to the *Florentines*.

* On this account *Antonio Giacomini*, the *Florentine* General,

A. D. 1504. for *Pandolfo Petrucci*, he was very ready in putting others forward, and very liberal of his Promiſes to contribute towards the Expences, but was very ſlow in his Performances. With the Money of theſe States, *Rinieri della Saſſetta*, who was a Soldier of the Great Captain, by his Permiſſion, taking with him ſome other Officers, tranſported by Sea Two Hundred Horſe to *Piſa*, and the *Genoeſe* had ordered thither a Commander with a Thouſand Foot. Beſides theſe Supplies, one *Bardella* of *Porto Venere*, a famous Corſair in the *Tuſcan* Seas, in the Pay of the aforementioned States, under the Title of Captain of the *Piſans*, with a Galleon, and ſome Brigantines, continually furniſhed them with Victuals. Hence the *Florentines* finding it neceſſary, beſides the Damage done by Land, to deprive them of the Uſe and Advantage of the Sea, hired three light Gallies of King *Federigo*, which

General, ſeeing that the *Piſans* were ſupported by the *Luccheſe*, made two Incurſions with an Army into the Territory of *Lucca*, plundering and ruining all that came in his Way. The *Luccheſe* complaining to the King of *France*, and threatening to ſurrender themſelves to the *Venetians*, the King, who was wholly addicted to the *Florentines*, took no notice of their Remonſtrance.

which were in *Provence*. At the Approach of theſe Ships under their Commodore Don *Dimas Riccajenſio*, to *Livorno*, *Bardellu* ſheered off, tho' at Times he ſtill took the Opportunity of a favourable Wind to convey ſome Barks loaded with Victuals to the Mouth of the *Arno*, whence they eaſily entered the Port of *Piſa*. This City was at the ſame time greatly diſtreſſed by Land, for the *Florentine* Army, after the taking of *Libraſatta*, was diſtributed in ſeveral Parts of the Country, to prevent the Tillage of the Ground for the enſuing Year, and to intercept all Convoys of Victuals from *Lucca*, or by Sea. Towards the End of the Summer they deſtroyed the Millet Seed, and other Sorts of Grain, which that Country produces in great abundance. The *Florentines* did no ways grudge their Expences, nor judge any thing impoſſible that might give them Hopes of obtaining their End. For this Purpoſe they formed a new Project for annoying the *Piſans*, by turning the Courſe of the River *Arno*, which runs through their City, at the Tower of *Fagiana*, five Miles from *Piſa*, by working there

A. D. 1504.

Vain Projects of the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1504. there a new Channel, and carrying it into the ſtanding Waters that lie between that City and *Livorno*. This would effectually deprive the *Piſans* of all Hopes of receiving any Succour by way of the Sea, or by the River *Arno*. For the Waters gathered by the Rains and Floods in the Country round about, being, by reaſon of its low Situation, incapable of opening themſelves a Paſſage into the Sea, the City of *Piſa* would remain as it were in a Marſh, and the Difficulty of paſſing the *Arno* would for the future prevent the *Piſans* from running over the Hills, and interrupting the Communication between *Livorno* and *Florence*; and they would beſides find it neceſſary to fortify thoſe Openings where the River enters, and where it leaves the City, which otherwiſe would remain expoſed to the Inſults of the Enemy. But this Work, begun with mighty Hopes, and proſecuted at a much greater Expence, did not ſucceed; as indeed it generally happens in ſuch Undertakings, which, tho' in Theory they ſeem plain to a Demonſtration, yet prove fallacious in the Experiment; a moſt certain Proof that

that there is a wide Difference between designing a Thing and putting it in Execution. Thus in the Caſe before us, beſides many Difficulties, not at firſt conſidered, ariſing from the Courſe of the River, which, when they endeavoured to contract it, by its Weight ſunk the Channel, it was alſo found, that the Bed of the Lake into which the Waters were to be diſcharged, contrary to the Aſſurances of many Engineers and Opinions of Perſons ſkilful in Hydroſtatics, was higher than the Bed of the *Arno*. A. D. 1504.

WITH this Diſappointment, which might be expected from a too eager Deſire of obtaining *Piſa*, Fortune alſo diſplayed her Malignity on the *Florentines*; for the Gallies which they had hired, and had ordered to *Villafranca*, to ſeize on a Ship of the *Piſans* laden with Corn, were on their Return drove aſhore in a Storm off *Rapalle*, and it was with great Difficulty that the Commodore and Crew were ſaved.

BESIDES

A. D. 1504.

Florentines have recourſe to fair Means.

BESIDES the rough Method of Compulſion by Force of Arms and Terror, the *Florentines*, to leave no Means untried, reſolved to ſee what Effect an Act of Humanity and Grace would produce. For this Purpoſe they enacted a new Law, that whoever belonging to *Piſa*, whether Citizen or Peaſant, ſhould, within a certain Time, go and live upon his Eſtate, or in his Houſe, ſhould obtain a Pardon for all Offences, and have his Goods reſtored to him. Few, however, went out of *Piſa* with a ſincere Intent of enjoying the Benefit of this Act, but many uſeleſs Hands had the Conſent of the reſt to quit the City, becauſe their Departure at the ſame time relieved the Scarcity that was in the Town, and gave them an Opportunity of aſſiſting with their Income thoſe that ſtaid in the Place, which they did in private. By this means the Neceſſities of the *Piſans* were in ſome meaſure relieved, tho' not ſo much but that they were ſtill in great Diſtreſs, on account of their extreme Poverty and Want. But as they had nothing ſo much

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in abhorrence as the Name of the *Florentines*, tho' the Reſolution of the Peaſants ſeemed ſometimes to ſtagger, they were determined to endure all Extremities before they would ſurrender. *A. D.* 1504.

WITH this Diſpoſition they offered to give themſelves up to the *Genoeſe*, with whom they had ſo often contended for Empire and for Life, and by whom their Power had formerly been humbled. This Step was propoſed by the *Luccheſe* and *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who, in order to avoid the continual Trouble and Expence that lay upon them, were willing to put the *Genoeſe* under an Obligation to defend *Piſa*, and to induce them to accept of the Propoſal, they offered to defray ſome Part of the Expences for Three Years. This Propoſition, tho' it found many Oppoſers in *Genoa*, and from *Giovan Luigi del Fieſco* in particular, yet was accepted by the City, and Inſtances were made to the King of *France*, without whoſe Conſent they were not at Liberty to take ſuch a Reſolution, that he would grant them Permiſſion to act accordingly; repreſenting

A. D. 1504. ing to his Majeſty of what pernicious Conſequence it muſt be, if the *Piſans*, excluded from this Hope, which was in a manner their laſt Reſort, ſhould throw themſelves into the Arms of the King of *Spain*, in which Caſe, to the very great Prejudice of his Affairs, *Genoa* would be under continual Apprehenſions and Danger, and almoſt all *Tuſcany* would be under a Neceſſity of eſpouſing the *Spaniſh* Party. Theſe Reaſons, at the beginning, had ſuch Weight with the King, that he was inclined to yield to their Demand; but when it came afterwards to be conſidered in his Council, that if the *Genoeſe* were permitted to involve themſelves in Wars, and in Confederacies with other Potentates, out of an ambitious Deſire of increaſing their Dominion, they would be continually raiſing their Thoughts to higher Matters, and in a little time ſhake off their Yoke, and aſſert their Liberty, he expreſly forbid them to accept the Dominion of the *Piſans*, tho' he did not prohibit them, in ſpite of all the heavy Complaints of the *Florentines*, to continue to aſſiſt them.

A. D. 1504.

A TREATY of Peace, between the King of *France* and the Sovereigns of *Spain*, was at the ſame time warmly negotiated. Their Catholic Majeſties, in Diſſimulation, propoſed to reſtore to the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Federigo*, or his Son the Duke of *Calabria*, to whom the King of *France* was to make over his Right, and that the Duke ſhould marry the Widow Queen, Niece of *Federigo*, who had been Wife to young *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*. It was not doubted, but that the King of *France*, who was now without any Proſpect of recovering for himſelf that Kingdom, would have accepted of any Terms of Peace; but there were two Difficulties in the propoſed Expedient: One, tho' of leſs Moment, was, that he was aſhamed to abandon thoſe Barons who had followed his Party, and were deprived of their Eſtates, and had hard and difficult Conditions propoſed to them; the other, which gave him moſt Concern, was, that he doubted the *Spaniſh* Monarchs had, with their uſual Arts, propoſed this Reſtoration with ſome Deſign, and had

Treaty of Peace between *France* and *Spain*.

A. D. 1504. other Reſerves in their Breaſts. He was apprehenſive alſo that his Conſent was not ſufficient to make the thing take effect, but yet would alienate from him the Affections of the Archduke, who, coveting the Kingdom of *Naples* for his Son, inſiſted on the ſigning the Peace he had made at *Blois*. *Lewis* therefore gave his Anſwer in general Terms, that he was deſirous of a Peace, but that it would be a Diſhonour to him to yield up the Rights which he had in the Kingdom of *Naples* to an *Aragonian*. On the other hand, he continued his former Negotiations with the King of the *Romans* and with the Archduke, which he was almoſt certain of bringing to an Iſſue; and that they might not be interrupted by the dubious Negotiation with the *Spaniſh* Sovereigns, and, to give the greater Luſtre to his Honour, profeſſing that his chief Motive was the Difficulties relating to the Barons, he ſent for the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors. Then, ſeated in his royal Chair of State, before the whole Court, with ſolemn Ceremonies, and ſuch Formalities as are rarely uſed, he declared, that he was ſorry that their Catholic

Catholic Majeſties had profeſſed their Deſire of Peace in Words, while nothing was farther from their Intentions; and therefore, ſince it was a Point unworthy of a King to conſume Time in fruitleſs Negotiations, it was moſt convenient that they ſhould depart out of the Kingdom of *France*. *A. D.* 1504. *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors diſmiſſed.

AFTER the Departure of the *Spaniards*, arrived the Ambaſſadors of *Maximilian* and the Archduke, to give the finiſhing Hand to the Treaties under Negotiation. And becauſe Matters of the higheſt Importance were propoſed by the Parties concerned, the Biſhop of *Siſteron*, the Pope's Nuntio in ordinary at the *French* Court, was admitted at the Conferences, in conjunction with the Marquis of *Finale*, who was deputed by the Pontiff on purpoſe for this Negotiation. The Treaty which had ſeveral times before been on the Carpet, and demonſtrated to be highly advantageous to all the Princes concerned, was now eaſily brought to a Concluſion on the following Terms: That the Matrimony before negotiated between *Claude*, Treaty of Peace between the King of *France* and other Powers. Articles of the Treaty.

D. A. 1504. the Daughter of the King of *France*, and *Charles*, the eldeſt Son of the Archduke of *Auſtria*, ſhall take effect; adding moreover, that, for the greater Corroboration, it ſhall be confirmed by the Oath, and under the Hand and Seal of the King of *France*, and of *Francis*, Count of *Angouleſme*, next Heir to the Crown, in default of male Iſſue from the King, and of many other principal Lords of the Kingdom of *France*: That annulling, for juſt and good Reaſons, all the Inveſtitures of the State of *Milan* granted to this very Day, *Maximilian* ſhall confer that Inveſtiture on the King of *France*, for himſelf, and for his male Iſſue, if he ſhould have any; and if not, by Virtue of the Matrimony aforeſaid, ſhall grant the ſame to *Claude* and *Charles*; and, in caſe *Charles* ſhould die before Conſummation of the Marriage, the Inveſtiture ſhall be beſtowed on *Claude* and the ſecond Son of the Archduke, if ſhe ſhould be married to him: That between the Pontiff, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *France*, and the Archduke, there ſhall be a Confederacy for their mutual Defence,

and

and for acting offenſively againſt the *Venetians*, for recovery of the Places ſeized by them: That *Cæſar* ſhall paſs into *Italy* in Perſon againſt the *Venetians*, and ſhall afterwards be at liberty to proceed to *Rome*, to receive the Imperial Crown: That the King of *France* ſhall pay for the Inveſtiture, as ſoon as the Patent is expedited, Sixty Thouſand *Rheniſh* Florins, and Sixty Thouſand more within Six Months, and as a Tribute, each Feaſt of the Nativity of our Lord, a Pair of Golden Spurs: That the Sovereigns of *Spain* ſhall have Four Months allowed them to accede to this Treaty; but it was declared that, if they did not, the King of *France* ſhould be at liberty to attack the Kingdom of *Naples*: That the King of *France* ſhould no longer aſſiſt the Count Palatine, who excited by *Lewis*, and relying on his Aſſiſtance, was engaged in a troubleſome War with the King of the *Romans*. The *Venetians* were excluded from this League, tho' the King had always granted their Ambaſſadors very favourable Audiences, and the Cardinal of *Rouen*, to free them from Suſpicions, had continued to give them Aſſu- *A. D.* 1504.

A. D. 1504. rances, by many ſtrong Aſſeverations and Oaths, that the King would never contravene the Confederacy that ſubſiſted between them.

THESE were the Points contained in the written Deed, and ſtipulated between the Parties; but beſides theſe they treated alſo of an Interview between *Cæſar* and the King, in a Place to be appointed at another time, the King promiſing then to releaſe from his Confinement *Lodovico Sforza*, and allow him an honourable Maintenance in his Court. And, indeed, *Cæſar* was aſhamed not to provide for the Wellbeing of a Prince, who, he well remembered, by truſting to his Promiſes, and vainly repoſing his Confidence in his Friendſhip, had accelerated his own Ruin. On that Conſideration, when the Cardinal of *Rouen* went to wait upon him at *Trent*, he had procured, by means of his Eminence, that the Duke's Confinement ſhould be made much eaſier to him than it had been at firſt; and now he made Inſtances for his Enlargement, and that he might have Liberty to remain in the royal

royal Court, or in what Part of the King- A. D. 1504.
dom his Majeſty pleaſed. The King pro-
miſed alſo, at *Cæſar*'s Requeſt, to reſtore the Exiles of the Dutchy of *Milan*, on which Point there had been many Difficulties ſtarted in the Negotiation of *Trent*. Theſe Stipulations being ſo advantageous to the Archduke and to *Maximilian*, it was believed that, in ſpite of the latter's Fickleneſs, the Treaty would take effect, eſpecially as the Pope was comprehended in it: And the King of *France* was very well ſatisfied; not ſo much that his Thoughts were ſet upon new Enterpriſes, but from his Deſire of obtaining the Inveſtiture of *Milan*, and of ſecuring himſelf from being moleſted by *Cæſar*, or by his Son.

ABOUT this time died King *Federigo* *, being deprived of all Hopes of recovering the Kingdom of *Naples* by Treaty, tho' he had at firſt deceived himſelf, as it is natural for Men in his Situation, into a Perſuaſion, that the King of *Spain* was more inclined to his Reſtoration than the Death of King *Federigo*.

* At *Tours*, *Sept.* 9, 1504.

A. D. 1504. King of *France*; not conſidering that it is a vain thing to expect, in our Age, a magnanimous Reſtitution of ſo great a Kingdom. Such Examples have been always ſo rare, even in antient Times, which were much more diſpoſed to virtuous and generous Actions than the preſent, that it could not be thought to have the leaſt Show of Probability, that one who had laid ſo many Snares for ſeizing the Half, ſhould, now he had gotten poſſeſſion of the whole, voluntarily deprive himſelf of it. And indeed in the Courſe of his Negotiations he diſcovered Difficulties on both Sides, and was convinced that he had more Reaſon to deſpair of his Reſtoration from one who had a Kingdom in poſſeſſion, than to imagine that he who had it not in poſſeſſion ſhould conſent to have it reſtored.

Death and Character of *Eliſabetta* Queen of *Spain*.

TOWARDS the End of this Year died *Eliſabetta*, Queen of *Spain*, a Lady of a moſt unblemiſhed Character, and in the higheſt Reputation among her Subjects for Prudence and Magnanimity *. She was poſſeſſed,

* *Eliſabetta*, or *Iſabella*, Queen of *Spain*, died *Nov.* 26 1504, very much regretted by the Great Captain, who was her Creature, and obliged to her for all his Greatneſs. *Giovio.*

poſſeſſed, in her own Right, of the King- A. D. 1504.
dom of *Caſtile*, the greater and moſt potent Part of *Spain*, which devolved to her by Heirſhip after the Death of her Brother *Henrico*, tho' not without War and Bloodſhed. For it had long been a current Report that *Henrico* was naturally impotent, and for that Reaſon *Beltramigia*, born of his Wife, and maintained by him many Years as his Daughter, could not be his Child. On this account *Eliſabetta*, while *Henrico* lived, was acknowledged as Princeſs of *Caſtile*, that being the Title of the next in Succeſſion to the Crown. However, at the Death of *Henrico*, many Lords of *Caſtile* took up Arms in favour of *Beltramigia*, and were aſſiſted by the Forces of the King of *Portugal*, her Relation. Both Parties came at laſt to a Battle, the Succeſs of which was on the juſteſt Side, in favour of *Eliſabetta*, whoſe Army was commanded by *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*, her Huſband, who was himſelf deſcended from the royal Family of *Caſtile*, and of Kin to *Eliſabetta* in the third Degree of Conſanguinity. *Ferdinando* afterwards, by the Death of his Father *Giovanni*,

A. D. 1504. *vanni*, ſucceeded to the Kingdom of *Aragon*, on which he and his Spouſe aſſumed the Title of King and Queen of *Spain*; for the Kingdom of *Valenza*, and the County * of *Catalogna*, being united to the Kingdom of *Aragon*, they had under their Dominion the whole Country of *Spain*, which is bounded by the *Pirenean* Mountains, the Ocean, and the *Mediterranean* Sea. Under this Title were comprehended the Titles of ſeveral Kingdoms, becauſe great Part of the Country had been formerly in the poſſeſſion of ſeveral *Mooriſh* Princes, each of whom had aſſumed the Title of King; *Granada* however muſt be excepted, for that was then in the Poſſeſſion of the *Moors*, and afterwards gloriouſly reduced by them under the Dominion of *Caſtile*; as muſt alſo the little Kingdom of *Portugal*, and that of *Navarra*, much leſs, both of which had their particular Kings. But the Kingdom of *Aragon*, with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other Iſles belonging to them, being the Property of *Ferdinando*, were under his ſole Government, without interpoſing the

* It is now called the Principality of *Catalogna*.

the Name or Authority of his Queen. But the Proceedings in *Caſtile* were different, becauſe that Kingdom being hereditary to *Eliſabetta*, and in Dowry to *Ferdinando*, the Adminiſtration, as to Name, outward Show, and Effect, was exerciſed in common, nothing being executed but what was reſolved, ordained, and ſigned by them both. The regal Title of *Spain* was in common, Ambaſſadors were diſpatched, Armies appointed, and Wars managed by joint Authority, neither of them arrogating more Submiſſion, or a greater Share in the Government of that Kingdom than the other. *A. D.* 1504.

By the Death of *Eliſabetta* without male Iſſue, the Succeſſion of *Caſtile*, by the Laws of that Kingdom, which have more Regard to Proximity than Sex, and exclude not Females, belonged to *Giovanna*, her Daughter by *Ferdinando*, and Wife of the Archduke; for an elder Daughter to them both, married to the King of *Portugal*, and a little Son born of her were long ſince deceaſed. *Ferdinando*, therefore,

A. D. 1504. therefore, expecting no further Share in the Adminiſtration of Affairs in his dotal Kingdom, after the Expiration of his Matrimony, had nothing to do but to return to his little Kingdom of *Aragon*, little in compariſon to the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, both in Extent and Revenues, and becauſe the *Aragonian* Kings having not abſolute Authority in all Matters, are, in many Caſes, ſubjected to the Laws and Cuſtoms of that Country, which greatly limit the Power of Kings.

As *Eliſabetta* drew near her End, ſhe appointed by her laſt Will *Ferdinando* Governor of *Caſtile* during Life; being willing that as ſhe had always lived with him in perfect Harmony, he ſhould preſerve his priſtine Greatneſs; or, as it was ſaid, becauſe ſhe was ſenſible that it was more expedient for her People to continue under the prudent Government of *Ferdinando*, which would prove of no leſs Service to her Daughter and Son-in-law. For when they ſhould come at laſt to take the Government upon themſelves, after *Ferdinando*'s Deceaſe, they would find

find it of no ſmall Advantage, that till ſuch time as *Philip*, who was born and bred in *Flanders*, where Affairs are managed after a different Manner, ſhould come of riper Age, and to a more perfect Knowledge of the Laws, Cuſtoms, Nature and Manners of the People of *Spain*, all theſe Kingdoms ſhould be preſerved for them under a pacific and well regulated Government, *Caſtile* and *Aragon*, by theſe Means, maintaining themſelves in a State of Union, like one and the ſame Body. The Death of the Queen produced afterwards ſome new Events in *Spain*; but the Affairs of *Italy*, as we ſhall obſerve, were in a more calm Situation, and diſpoſed to Peace. *A. D.* 1504.

THE Year 1505 proved as peaceable as the preceding; ſo that if you except ſome little Acts of Hoſtility that paſſed between the *Florentines* and the *Piſans*, which occaſioned ſome Diſturbances, there was a total Ceſſation of Arms, one Part of the Powers chuſing Peace, and the other, tho' inclined to War, prevented by different Cauſes. As for the King of *Spain*, 1505. *Italy* at Peace.

A. D. 1505. *Spain*, (for ſo he continued to be ſtiled) his Thoughts were employed on the Changes occaſioned by the Death of the Queen, and contented himſelf with preſerving the Kingdom of *Naples* by virtue of the Truce. The King of *France* ſtood greatly perplexed, becauſe *Cæſar*, according to his natural inconſtant Temper, had not yet ratified the Peace which had been concluded: And the Pope, tho' deſirous of Innovations, neither durſt nor could exert himſelf, unleſs in conjunction with other powerful Princes. The *Venetians* thought themſelves highly favoured, that when ſuch mighty Matters were in Agitation againſt them, and the Pope ſo greatly diſaffected towards them, they ſhould eſcape being moleſted. In order to ſoften the Spirit of his Holineſs, they had ſome Months before offered to leave him *Rimini*, with all the other Territory they had taken poſſeſſion of, ſince the Death of Pope *Alexander*, in *Romagna*, provided he would conſent that they ſhould keep *Faenza*, with its Territory. They were the more induced to make this Offer from the Fear they had of the

Affairs between the Pope and *Venetians*.

King

King of *France*, and becauſe *Cæſar*, at the Sollicitation of *Julius*, had ſent an Ambaſſador to *Venice*, to exhort them to reſtore the Lands of the Church. But the Pope, agreeably to the Conſtancy of his Mind, and his Manner of expreſſing his Thoughts, made anſwer, that he would not conſent that they ſhould keep one, tho' never ſo ſmall a Fort, but that he hoped to recover, before his Death, *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, which Cities they poſſeſſed no leſs unjuſtly than *Faenza*. A. D. 1505.

THE Matter was puſhed no farther at that Time, but in the Beginning of this Year, the Fears of the *Venetians* increaſing, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Urbino*, a Friend to both Parties, they offered to reſtore all they had ſeized in *Romagna*, except the Territories of *Faenza* and *Rimini*, if the Pope, who had hitherto refuſed to permit their Ambaſſadors to pay their Obedience, would now conſent to admit them. To this Demand the Pope ſhewed ſome Reluctancy, it appearing to him as a Thing inconſiſtent with his Dignity, and diſagreeing with the

A. D. 1505. the heavy Complaints and Threatenings which he had uſed. Touched, however, with the Miſeries of the People of *Furli*, *Imola*, and *Ceſena*, who were deprived of the greater Part of their Territories, and endured great Hardſhips, and ſeeing there was no other Way to relieve them at hand, ſince the Affairs between *Cæſar* and the King of *France* proceeded to ſuch a tedious Length, he at laſt conſented to embrace what, with regard to its Effect, was Gain without Loſs, ſince no Obligation was required, on his Part, either by Writing or Promiſe.

Venetians ſend Ambaſſadors to the Pope.

THE *Venetians* then, after reſtoring to the Pope the Towns above-mentioned, deputed to his Holineſs Eight Ambaſſadors of the principal Senators, who had been choſen for this Purpoſe ever ſince his Advancement to the Popedom; a greater Number than the Republic had ever ſent before to a Pope who was not a *Venetian*. Theſe Ambaſſadors were admitted to an Audience with the uſual Ceremonies, but had not the Satisfaction to return to *Venice* with any Mark by which they could aſſure

aſſure themſelves that the Pope was become of a more eaſy and gentle Diſpoſition towards their Senate. *A. D.* 1505.

THE King of *France* at this time, being deſirous to put the finiſhing Hand to the Articles of the Treaty, deputed the Cardinal of *Rouen* to *Haguenau*, a Town of *Lower Germany*, lately taken from the Count Palatine, where *Cæſar* and the Archduke expected him. At his Arrival the Articles of the Convention were publiſhed, and confirmed with a ſolemn Oath, and the Cardinal paid *Cæſar* one Moiety of the Sum ſtipulated for the Inveſtiture, the other Moiety being promiſed him as ſoon as he had paſſed into *Italy*. But he gave broad Hints at that time, and ſoon after declared, that he could not paſs into *Italy* that preſent Year, by reaſon of Buſineſs, which would detain him in *Germany*. Hence there was the more Reaſon to caſt off all Apprehenſions of a War, for the King of *France* had no Inclination to attempt Innovations without the King of the *Romans*. Treaty of *Haguenau*.

A. D. 1505.

THERE now remained nothing like a War in *Italy* but the inveterate and almoſt perpetual Contentions between the *Florentines* and *Piſans*, who proceeded in a long War, not determined to any fixed Enterprize, but on ſuch as according to Opportunities offered themſelves, ſometimes on one Side, ſometimes on the other. It happened that *Luca Savello*, and ſome other Leaders and Chiefs of the *Florentines*, marched out of *Caſcina*, which Town the *Florentines* had made the Seat of the War, with Four Hundred Horſe, and a good Number of Foot, to conduct ſome Proviſions to *Librafatta*, and to ſeize on a Booty of Cattle belonging to the *Piſans*, that was on the yonder Side of the River *Serchio*, in the Territories of *Lucca*, not ſo much out of a Deſire of Plunder, as to draw the *Piſans* to an Engagement, not doubting but ſince they had the Superiority in the open Field to break them. After they had lodged the Proviſions in *Librafatta*, and made the Booty of Cattle, they returned ſlowly by the ſame Road, to give Time to the *Piſans*

Florentines and *Piſans* at War.

ſans to come out and attack them. On Advice of the Prey that was made of their Cattle, the *Piſans* immediately diſpatched from *Piſa Tarlatino*, their chief Captain, who took with him only Fifteen Men at Arms, Forty light Horſe, and Sixty Foot, leaving Orders for the reſt to follow; and having Advice that ſome of the Enemy's Horſe had advanced as far as *St. Jacopo*, near *Piſa*, he marched towards them; but at his Approach they retreated to join the reſt of their Troops, which were poſted at the Bridge of *Cappelleſe*, on the River *Oſole*, Three Miles from *Piſa*, and waited there for the Arrival of their Booty of Cattle, and for the Mules that had conveyed the Proviſions, and were coming behind. This Party of *Florentine* Horſe got ſafe to their Army on the other Side the Bridge, which the foremoſt Foot had poſſeſſed, and manned the Banks and Ditches. *Tarlatino* had followed the retreating *Florentines* to the Bridge, without obſerving that all the Enemy's Troops were aſſembled in that Place, and came ſo near that he could not make his Retreat without manifeſt Danger. He reſolved, therefore,

A. D. 1505.

A. D. 1505. to attack the Bridge, and encouraging his Men, told them that, tho' it was Neceſſity that forced them to encounter, they had great reaſon to hope for Victory, for in a narrow Place, where few could come to fight, they could not be overpowered by Numbers; that if they could not force the Bridge, they might eaſily defend themſelves, till the *Piſans*, to whom he had ſent for Aſſiſtance, could have Time to ſuccour them: But if they could force their Paſſage over the Bridge, the Victory would be very eaſy; for the Road beyond the River, between the Bridge and the Hill, being but narrow, and encumbered by the Multitude of the Enemy, their Mules and Prey, they would quickly fall into Diſorder of themſelves, and be ſo entangled as neither to be able to fight nor fly. His Succeſs juſtified what he had ſaid: For furiouſly putting Spurs to his Horſe, he was the firſt that aſſaulted the Bridge, but was forced to retire; a ſecond met with the ſame Fortune; and after him a third, whoſe Horſe was wounded; but *Vitellatino* returning to his Aſſiſtance, with great

great Impetuoſity, by the Force of his Arms, and the high Mettle of his Horſe, made his Way over the Bridge, the Foot that defended it giving Ground. Four others of his Cavalry forced their Paſſage, and while they were all engaged with the Enemy's Foot in a narrow Meadow, ſome of the *Piſan* Foot waded the River up to their Chins, and the Horſe at the ſame time paſſing the Bridge, which was now abandoned, without Obſtacle, and joining their other Forces, which came out of *Piſa* in a ſcattered and diſorderly Manner, they all together preſſed upon the *Florentines*, and reduced them into a ſtrait Place, where they fell into Confuſion among themſelves, and into a cowardly Abjectneſs of Spirit, more conſpicuous among the Men at Arms, than the Foot, and having no Leader of Authority to ſtop them, or reſtore their Order, betook themſelves to open Flight. Thus the *Florentines*, tho' a Body of Troops much ſuperior in Force, and marching in Order of Battle, were broken and routed by an inconſiderable Number, coming in looſe and diſbanded Order,

A. D. 1505.

Florentines routed by the *Piſans*.

A. D. 1505. and with an Intent rather to make a Show of themſelves, than with a Diſpoſition to fight. Several Officers of Foot, and Perſons of Note among the *Florentines*, were killed, wounded, or taken Priſoners, and moſt of thoſe that eſcaped fell into the Hands of the Peaſants of *Lucca*, and were diſarmed and plundered.

THE Affairs of the *Florentines* in the Country of *Piſa* were put in great Diſorder by this Defeat, for as they had but a few Men left in *Caſcina*, they could not, for many Days, prevent the *Piſans*, puffed up with their Victory, from making Excurſions, and plundering all over the Country. And, what was of greater Importance, this Misfortune put *Pandolfo Petrucci* in hopes that it might be eaſy to prevent the *Florentines* this Summer from laying waſte the Country of the *Piſans*, who ſtruggling with their uſual Difficulties, had been aſſiſted, tho' very ſparingly, by the *Genoeſe* and *Luccheſe*, and the *Seneſe* were more liberal of their Counſel than of their Money or Proviſions.

Where-

Wherefore *Pandolfo*, intent on doing them ſome Service, procured that *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, in whom the *Florentines*, becauſe they were the principal Authors of his Return to *Perugia*, repoſed much Confidence during his Conduct, ſhould refuſe to continue in their Service. The Reaſon he gave was, that *Marco Antonio* and *Mutio Colonna*, and *Luca* and *Giacopo Savelli* being in the ſame Pay, and having together a greater Number of Soldiers than he himſelf, he ſtood in Danger from their being of a different Faction. But that they might have but a ſhort Time to provide themſelves, he delayed as much as poſſible to diſcover his farther Deſigns; and that he might gain the more Credit to his Excuſe, he promiſed the *Florentines* never to take up Arms againſt them; and to render them the more ſecure, he left with them, as a Hoſtage, in their Pay, his Son *Malateſta*, a Youth of a very tender Age, with Fifteen Men at Arms. As for himſelf, becauſe he would not remain altogether without Command, he entered himſelf, with Seventy Men at Arms, into the Service of the *Seneſe*, who being unable

A. D. 1505.

Gian Pagola Baglione leaves the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1505. to ſupport an additional Expence, the *Lucheſe*, to whom theſe Meaſures had been participated, took into their Service *Troilo Savello*, who was in the Pay of the *Seneſe*.

By this ſudden and unexpected Departure of *Gian Pagolo*, and the Loſs received at the Bridge of *Cappelleſe*, the *Florentines* having but a few Troops left, refrained from laying waſte the *Piſan* Territory this Year; they were even neceſſitated to think of providing Remedies againſt greater Dangers. For *Pandolfo* and *Gian Pagolo*, their old Antipathy reviving, treated privately with the Cardinal *de' Medici* for diſturbing the *Florentine* State, placing their chief Dependance on *Bartolomeo Alviano*. That Commander, who had fallen out with the Great Captain, was arrived in the Territory of *Rome*, and with various Hopes and Promiſes, had aſſembled about him a good Number of Soldiers. It was ſuſpected that theſe Conſultations were communicated to Cardinal *Aſcanio*, and that a Deſign was formed, if Things ſucceeded happily in *Tuſcany*,

Tuſcany, to employ the united Forces of the *Florentines*, and others who were willing to be Aſſociates in the Undertaking, for attacking the Dutchy of *Milan*. And it was expected that a Revolution would be eaſily conſequent upon an Invaſion, ſince there were but a ſmall Number of *French* Men at Arms in that Territory, very many of the Nobility were abroad, the People addicted to the Name of the *Sforzas*, and beſides, the King of *France* had been ſeized with a dangerous Diſorder, which reduced him to ſuch Extremities, that for many Hours he was given over; and tho' afterwards he recovered from lying at the Point of Death, he was in ſo bad a Condition, that there were but ſmall Hopes of his Life *. Some of deeper Penetration in Politics have imagined, that *Aſcanio*, who at that Time was very frequently viſited by the *Venetian* Ambaſſador in *Rome*, held private Correſpondence not only with the Great Captain, but alſo with the *Venetians*, who were more ready, and

A. D. 1505.

King of *France* dangerouſly ill.

* He was ſeized with a Diſorder of the Breaſt, which laſted Twenty Days with very terrible Symptoms, but the ſeventh Day was the moſt dangerous.

A. D. 1505. and had more Reaſon to declare againſt the *French*, than in Times paſt, becauſe the King of *France* had entertained new Jealouſies and Diſtruſt of the King of the *Romans*, and his Son; and conſidering the future Greatneſs of the Archduke after the Death of the Queen of *Spain*, had openly fallen off from them, and aſſiſted the Duke of *Guelder*, the bitter Enemy of the Archduke, and was moreover inclined to enter into a particular Correſpondence with the King of *Spain*.

But as the Thoughts of Men are fallacious, and their Hopes frail, while theſe Things were in Agitation, the King of *France*, whoſe Life was almoſt deſpaired of, grew better every Day, and *Aſcanio* died ſuddenly of the Peſtilence in *Rome* *. By his Death the State of *Milan* was freed from Apprehenſions, but the Project for diſturbing the Peace of the *Florentines* was not wholly laid aſide.

* He died of the Plague in *Rome*, *May* 20, 1505. *Buonac. Giovio* ſays, he died of Poiſon; but *Bembo*, contrary to all other Writers, tells us that both he and his Brother *Lodovico* died miſerably in Priſon in *France*.

aſide. With this Deſign there met together at *Piegai*, a Caſtle betwen the Borders of *Perugia* and *Siena*, *Pandolfo Petrucci*, *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and *Bartolomeo Alviano*, not with a Proſpect of reſtoring the *Medici* to *Florence* by Force of Arms, but to contrive that *Alviano* ſhould enter *Piſa* with the Conſent of the Citizens, and, under Shelter of that City, haraſs the Borders of the *Florentines*, with an Intent to proceed farther, if an Opportunity offered. *A. D.* 1505. Deſigns againſt the *Florentines*.

When theſe Deſigns began to come to Light, the *Florentines* ſtood much in Doubt of the Diſpoſition of the Great Captain; for they knew that the Term for which *Alviano* was engaged in the *Spaniſh* Service did not expire till *November* next, and it was not probable that *Pandolfo Petrucci* would attempt Innovations without his Conſent; for he never could be induced to pay the King of *France* the Money he had promiſed him, but had frequently over-reached him by various Arts, and entirely depended on the King of *Spain*. The Jealouſies of the *Florentines* were

A. D. 1505. were ſtill increaſed, by obſerving that the Lord of *Piombino*, who was under the Protection of the King of *Spain*, ſtanding in Fear of being attacked by the *Genoeſe*, *Gonſalvo*, for his Security, had ſent him *Nugno del Campo*, with a Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, beſides a Squadron of three Ships of War, two Gallies, and other Veſſels, which entered the Canal of *Piombino*; and theſe Forces being conducted into a Place ſo near the Borders of the *Florentines*, gave them Cauſe to fear that they were deſigned to join *Alviano*, which, as he affirmed, had been promiſed him. But the Truth was, that the King of *Spain*, after the Truce made with the King of *France*, in order to diminiſh his Expences, had directed, among the reſt of the Reductions made in the Regiments of others, that of *Alviano* to be reduced to an Hundred Lances. This Officer, fired with Indignation, not only refuſed to continue in his Command, but aſſerted that he was free from the Service, becauſe his Arrears were not paid him, and becauſe the Great Captain had refuſed to fulfil the Promiſe which he had made him, after the Victory

Alviano why left the *Spaniſh* Service.

Victory of *Naples*, to give him the Command of Two Thouſand Foot, to be employed, in favour of the *Medici*, againſt the *Florentines*; beſides, *Alviano* was naturally of an enterpriſing Temper, deſirous of Change, and impatient of Reſt. A. D. 1505.

THE *Florentines*, in order to defend themſelves from this Attack, had recourſe to the King of *France*, who was obliged, by the Articles of his Protection, to aſſiſt them with Four Hundred Lances for their Defence, and ſollicited him now for Two Hundred of them on this Occaſion. But that King, who was ever more influenced by a covetous Deſire after Money, than by Prayers, or Compaſſion towards his old Allies, anſwered, that he would lend them no Succours before they had laid down the Thirty Thouſand Ducats, which they were bound to pay for his Protection. And tho' the *Florentines* pleaded in excuſe, that they were burthened with infinite Expences neceſſary for their Defence, and ſupplicated for ſome Delay, he obſtinately perſiſted in the ſame Reſolution; ſo that they found more Relief from one whom they

A. D. 1505. they had diſtreſſed and injured, than from him in whom they confided, and whom they had obliged. For the Great Captain being deſirous that the Peace of *Italy* ſhould not be diſturbed, or the Negotiations of Peace, newly reſumed between the two Kings, interrupted; or elſe that, taking occaſion from the Death of the Queen, and the Seeds of Diſcord which thereupon would ariſe between the Father and Son-in-Law, he had entertained Thoughts of appropriating the Kingdom of *Naples* to himſelf; not only endeavoured by all Means to induce *Alviano* (who on receiving the Pope's Commands either to diſband his Troops, or leave the Dominions of the Church, was retired to *Pitigliano)* to reſume his Command in his Maſter's Army, but charged him, as a Vaſſal and Soldier of his King, to proceed no farther, under Pain of Deprivation of his Eſtate in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which was computed to produce him yearly Seven Thouſand Ducats. He ſignified alſo to the *Piſans*, who had been not long before privately received into his Maſter's Protection, and to the Lord of *Piombino*,

Gonſalvo aſſiſts the Florentines.

ombino, that they ſhould not receive him. A. D. 1505.
And he offered the *Florentines* the Uſe of his Infantry that was in *Piombino*, for their Defence, to be under the Command of *Marco Antonio Colonna*, their General. He admoniſhed alſo *Pandolfo Petrucci* not to ſupport *Alviano*, and prohibited *Lodovico*, Son of Count *Pitigliano*, *Franceſco Orſino*, and *Giovanni di Ceri*, who ſerved under him, to follow him. *Alviano*, however, attended by *Gian Luigi Vitello*, and *Gian Currado Orſino*, with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Foot, Voluntiers, marched forwards, tho' but ſlowly, the *Seneſe* furniſhing them with Proviſions, till they came to the Marſhes of *Siena*; they then entered into the Plain of *Scarlino*, a Town in the Juriſdiction of *Piombino*, a ſmall Day's Journey from the Borders of the *Florentines*. Here *Alviano* was overtaken by a Meſſenger from the Great Captain, with freſh Orders not to go to *Piſa*, and not to moleſt the *Florentines*. He anſwered that he was a free Man, and at his own Diſpoſal, ſince the Great Captain had not fulfilled the Promiſes which he had made

A. D. 1505. made him. After this he took up his Quarters near *Campiglia*, a Town of the *Florentines*, where began ſome light ſkirmiſhing between his Men and the *Florentine* Troops, who were aſſembling at *Bibbona*. Hence he proceeded, and came before *Cornia*, between the Borders of the *Florentines* and *Sughereto*; but much diſappointed of his Hopes and Deſigns, and uncertain how to take his Meaſures, greater Difficulties preſenting every Hour. For he could no longer be ſupplied with Proviſions from *Piombino*, and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and the *Vitelli* had not ſent him the Foot in purſuance of the Plan concerted between them, being willing to accommodate their Reſolutions to the Events of Things; *Pandolfo Petrucci* alſo ſeemed now not ſo forward to countenance his Undering as he was at firſt; nor was he ſure that the *Piſans* would run the Riſk of diſobeying the Great Captain, by receiving him. For theſe Reaſons, and becauſe there was a continual treating about his reſuming his Poſt in the Army, to which he inclined, ſince he no longer re[illegible]ed to con-

Motions of *Alviano*.

content himſelf with the Command of the Hundred Lances, he retired to *Vignale*, a Town of the Lord of *Piombino*, ſpreading a Report that he tarried there in Expectation of a final Determination of his Affairs from *Naples*. But in the mean time having obtained of the *Piſans* their Conſent to receive him into *Piſa*, he left *Vignale*, where he had taken up his Quarters for Ten Days, and on the 17th of *Auguſt* appeared with his Troops drawn up in order of Battle at *Caldane*, a Mile below *Campiglia*, with a Deſign to engage the *Florentines*, who had marched and encamped there the Day before; but happening to receive Intelligence of his march from ſome Spies who came from the Camp of *Alviano*, they formed ſome Conjectures of his Motions, and retired the ſame Night under the Walls of *Campiglia*, where *Alviano* finding he could not attack them without great Diſadvantage, he purſued his Journey to *Piſa*, taking the Rout by the Tower of *San Vicenzo*, Five Miles from *Campiglia*. A. D. 1505.

On the other Side, the *Florentine* Ge-

A. D. 1505. neral *Ercole Bentivoglio*, being perfectly acquainted with the Country, and deſiring nothing more than to come to an Engagement in a Place where he might take the Advantage of the Ground, directed his March by the Road that leads from *Campiglia* to the ſame Tower of *San Vicenzo*, dividing the light Horſe into two Parties, one of which followed the Army of *Alviano*, continually haraſſing and moleſting his Rear; the other rode forwards to take the Enemy in Front, advancing the ſame Way as the Army, which marched after them. This Body of Horſe arrived at the Tower before *Alviano*'s Army, and engaging with his advanced Troops, were with no great Difficulty repulſed, and retired to the main Army, which was half a Mile behind, and informed the General, that the greateſt Part of the Enemy had already paſſed the Tower. *Ercole* then marching ſlowly, came up with the Enemy's Rear at the Ruins of *San Vicenzo*, where their Men at Arms, and their Infantry, had made head; and taking Advantage of the Plain and open Paſſage, he advanced and charged them vigorouſly in Flank, with one

Part

Part of his Army, and, after fighting for ſome Time, made them give Way. Their Foot was broken at the firſt Charge, and puſhed as far as the Sea, without ever rallying; but the Horſe, which had retired but a Bow-ſhot, paſſing the Ditch of *San Vicenzo*, towards *Bibbona*, turned head, and in cloſe Order charged the *Florentines* with irreſiſtible Fury, and repulſed them to the Ditch. *Ercole* then advanced with the reſt of the Troops, and ſummoning thither from all Quarters the whole Strength of his Army, the Fight was obſtinate for a great while, the Victory inclining to neither Side. *Alviano*, who had performed the Office of a Soldier as well as of a General, uſing his utmoſt Efforts to force the Enemy from that Paſs, which would have ſecured him the Victory, received two Stabs in the Face with a Dagger. But *Ercole*, who had ſeveral Days before given Aſſurances, that if the Battle was fought on that Spot, it ſhould be his Care to obtain a Victory without Danger, cauſed Six Field Pieces, which he had brought with him, to be planted on the Side of the Ditch of the

A. D. 1505.

A. D. 1505. Tower. As ſoon as theſe began to play, *Ercole* perceived, that by their Execution the Enemy began to open, and fall into Diſorder; and embracing the Opportunity, on which he had always warranted the Victory, he charged them with great Vigour at ſeveral Quarters, with his whole Army; that is to ſay, with his light Horſe by the Way that leads to the Sea, with his Men at Arms by the high Road, and with his Foot on the upper Part by the Wood; by which Means they were eaſily broken, and put to flight. *Alviano* with a very few Men well mounted, not without Difficulty, ſaved themſelves, and fled to *Monte Rotondo*, in the Territory of *Siena*. The reſt of his Army were almoſt all taken between the Tower of *San Vicenzo*, and the River *Cecina*, and ſtripped; all the Colours were taken, and very few of the Horſe eſcaped *. Such was the End of *Bartolomeo Alviano*'s Undertaking, which had kept the Minds of People in Suſpenſe of its Event, more by the long Time

Alviano defeated.

* Above a Thouſand Horſes were taken, which had been furniſhed *Alviano* by *Bentivoglio*, beſides a great Number of Carriages. *Buon.*

Time ſpent in his Preparations, and the fierce and threatening Speeches he threw out from Time to Time, than by the Number of Forces, or any other ſolid Foundation for ſuch an Enterpriſe. *A. D.* 1505.

ENCOURAGED by this Victory, *Ercole Bentivoglio*, and *Antonio Giacomini*, the *Florentine* Commiſſary, did all that was poſſible to perſuade the *Florentines* by preſſing Letters, and frequent Expreſſes, to give Orders for leading the conquering Army before the Walls of *Piſa*, and were at the ſame Time making with all poſſible Speed the neceſſary Preparations for the Siege. And they truſted it would prove no very difficult Undertaking, ſince the *Piſans* laboured under many Hardſhips, and had loſt all Hopes of *Alviano*'s coming; and as one is apt to think that the Reputation of a Victory carries all before it, they believed they might without much Oppoſition become Maſters of the Place, their Hopes alſo being much heightened by ſome private Correſpondence which they held with ſome Perſons in the City. But in *Florence* the Magiſtracy Siege of *Piſa* propoſed.

A. D. 1505. of Ten, which ſuperintends in all Matters relating to War, having called a Council of thoſe Citizens, who are uſually conſulted in Caſes of Importance, and aſked their Advice with relation to the Point, the Propoſal of the Siege was unanimouſly condemned. They ſaid there was no Reaſon to doubt but the *Piſans* continued in their Obſtinacy, and that, after ſo many Years Experience in War, it was a vain Thing to imagine they could be conquered by the Name and Reputation of a Victory, obtained over others, by which their own Force was not at all diminiſhed. That therefore they ought to continue in a regular Manner to ſubdue them by plain Force, which was the only Way that warlike Men are to be overcome, and even this Way appeared to be attended with many Difficulties, For the City of *Piſa* was ſurrounded with as ſtrong Walls as any City in *Italy*, the Fortifications were in good Repair, and the Defendants valiant and obſtinate; that there was no Hopes of taking it by Force, but with a great Army, and Soldiers not inferior in Valour and Reſolution to the Beſieged. And even

Propoſal rejected.

Reaſons againſt the Siege.

theſe

theſe would not be ſufficient to take the Place by Storm, or after a ſhort Siege; but there would be a Neceſſity of lying many Days before it, and making regular Approaches with Security, taking all Advantages, and in a Manner tiring out the Beſieged, rather than forcing them. The Seaſon of the Year was by no means favourable to ſuch an Enterpriſe: For none but raw and new-levied Infantry could be ſpeedily got together, nor can an Army approach the Place with an Intent to lie long before it, becauſe of the Unwholeſomneſs of the Air, corrupted by the Winds that blow from the Sea, which become infected by the peſtilential Vapours of the Pools and Marſhes, and are moſt pernicious to an Army, as was experienced in the unhappy Campaign of *Pagolo Vitelli*. Beſides, the Country of *Piſa*, even in *September*, begins to be ſubject to Rains, by which, on account of its low Situation, it is overflowed in ſuch a Manner, that during the Seaſon it is difficult for an Army to maintain itſelf in its Quarters about that City. Nor, conſidering the univerſal Obſtinacy of the Inha- *A. D.* 1505.

A. D. 1505. tants, can any Streſs be laid on a Plot, or private Correſpondence; for either they will give falſe Intelligence, or the Perſons employed in the Management will have no Power to perform what they ſhall promiſe. To this it may be added, that tho' the Public ſtood under no Engagement to the Great Captain, yet *Proſpero Colonna* had, of his own Motion indeed, but in a manner with their tacit Conſent, taken upon him to ſignify to *Gonſalvo* that it was their Intention to bring no Cannon before the Walls of *Piſa* this Year. And therefore they might aſſure themſelves, that *Gonſalvo*, moved by Anger on this Account, and by his often repeated Promiſes to the *Piſans*, and moreover, becauſe this Succeſs of the *Florentines* might be prejudicial to his Affairs, would oppoſe the Undertaking. And it was an eaſy Matter for him to hinder it, ſince he could in a few Hours introduce into *Piſa* the *Spaniſh* Infantry that lay in *Piombino*, as he had often proteſted he would do, if the Siege of *Piſa* was attempted. That it was much better to improve their Victory by employ-

employing their Arms on another Exploit, where, tho' the Profits were leſs, the Facility of Succeſs was incomparably greater, and at the ſame time not deſtitute of ſignal Advantage. No Perſon had been ſo much their Adverſary, and conſtantly oppoſed their Deſigns; none had more obſtructed their Recovery of *Piſa*, none had been more concerned in Meaſures for altering their preſent Government, than *Pandolfo Petrucci*. He it was that incited *Valentino* to enter with an armed Force into the *Florentine* Dominions; it was he that had been the principal Author and Director of the Invaſion of *Vitellozzo*, and of the Rebellion of *Arezzo*; it was by means of his Advice and Counſel, that the States of *Siena*, *Genoa*, and *Lucca*, agreed together to ſupport the *Piſans*; it was by his Perſuaſion that *Gonſalvo* undertook the Protection of *Piombino*, and intermeddled in the Affairs of *Tuſcany*; and who elſe had been a Promoter and Favourer of this Commotion of *Alviano*? That their Army ought therefore to be conducted againſt him, and the whole Territory of *Siena*, which they might over-

A. D. 1505.

Pandolfo Petrucci, an inveterate Enemy to the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1505. over-run and ravage without any Reſiſtance: That the Reputation of their Arms might perhaps occaſion an Inſurrection againſt *Pandolfo* in the City of *Siena*, where he had many Enemies, at leaſt it might furniſh the Republic with an Opportunity for getting Poſſeſſion of ſome important Caſtle, which they might keep in their Hands by way of Exchange, or as a Pledge, till *Montepulciano* was reſtored to them. That ſhewing a juſt Reſentment, might poſſibly prevail on *Petrucci*, tho' Kindneſs had had no Effect, and render him more circumſpect for the future, and cautious of giving them Offence: That after this they ought in the ſame manner to over-run the Country of the *Luccheſe*, whom hitherto, to their own Damage, they had treated with too much Reſpect. By theſe means they might hope to derive from their Victory both Honour and Profit, but from the Siege of *Piſa* nothing could be expected but Expence and Diſhonour.

THESE Reaſons, unanimouſly alledged by the Council, had no Effect in reſtraining the violent Deſire of the People, who

are

are oftener governed by Will than by Reaſon *, to have *Piſa* beſieged; for they were not yet got rid of an inveterate Opinion, that many of the principal Citizens, for ambitious Ends, would not be pleaſed with the Recovery of *Piſa*. *Piero Soderini*, the Gonfalonier, who eſpouſed the ſame Opinion with no leſs Heat than the reſt, called a grand Council of the People, to whom Reſolutions of this Nature are not uſually referred, and demanding of them whether it was their Will and Pleaſure to have *Piſa* beſieged, they anſwered almoſt with one Voice in the Affirmative; Prudence being thus overcome by Raſhneſs, the Authority of the better Part was neceſſitated to give Way to the Will of the Majority. The Preparations therefore for the Siege were made with incredible Speed, as well with an Intent of preventing all Succours from the Great Captain, as for avoiding the Danger of the rainy Seaſon. They made ſuch Haſte, that on the 6th of *September* they ſat down before the Walls of *Piſa* with

A. D. 1505.

Siege of *Piſa*.

* *Cicero* in his Oration for *Roſcius* ſays, that the common People judge few Things with Truth, but many Things by Opinion.

A. D. 1505. with an Army of Six Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Thouſand Foot, and Sixteen Pieces of battering Cannon, beſides other Artillery, and pitched their Camp between *Santa Croce* and *San Michele*, in the ſame Place where the *French* had formerly encamped. And having in the Night following expeditiouſly planted their Cannon, they began the next Day to batter with great Fury the Wall from the Gate of *Calci* to the Turret of *San Franceſco*, where the Walls form a rentrant Angle, and having from Sun-riſe, when they began to fire, to the Twenty-firſt Hour *, made a Breach of above Thirty Braces, they had a hot Skirmiſh with the Beſieged over the Ruins of the Wall, but of little Signification, becauſe the Breach was not of a ſufficient Breadth for entering a Town where the Men preſented themſelves on the Breach with their uſual Courage and Bravery. The next Morning, therefore, to make more Openings, they began

* Three o' Clock in the Afternoon; the *Italian* Manner of counting the Hours is from One to Twenty-four, and the Twenty-fourth Hour is Half an Hour after Sunſet; and to keep to this Regulation they alter the Clocks as the Sun alters its Courſe.

began another Battery in a Place not far distant, that Part of the Wall which had formerly been battered by the *French* remaining in the Middle between the two Batteries. When they had made what they thought a ſufficient Breach, *Ercole* endeavoured to animate his Infantry, which was drawn up in Order of Battle, to make a vigorous Attack on both Parts of the ruined Wall at once, where the *Piſans* had been labouring, according to Cuſtom, the Women working with no leſs Spirit than the Men, while the Batteries were playing, to raiſe up a Rampart with a Ditch before it. But the *Italian* Infantry, who were raw Soldiers, levied in haſte, wanted Spirits and Bravery to carry them on ſuch deſperate Work. For the Regiment * of Foot who, after caſting Lots, was appointed to give the firſt Aſſault, refuſed, out of Cowardice, to approach the Walls; and neither the Au-

A. D. 1505.

* Three Regiments of Foot, each conſiſting of One Thouſand Men, were employed in giving the Aſſault, but the other three were not put on Action, that they might not loſe their Reputation, ſince the firſt had come off ſo badly. *Buonac.* The ſame Author ſays, however, that the firſt Aſſault was given, but that the Men behaved much worſe in the ſecond Attack than at the firſt.

A. D. 1505. Authority nor Intreaties of the General, nor of the *Florentine* Commiſſary, nor a Regard to their own Honour, and the Honour of the *Italian* Military in general, could induce them to march forwards. Their Example being followed by the other Regiments, which were appointed to ſupport them in the Attack, they retired to their Quarters, having effected nothing, but brought a Diſgrace on the *Italian* Infantry, and rendered it contemptible in the Eyes of all *Europe*, quite marred the Victory obtained over *Alviano*, and deſtroyed the Reputation of the General and Commiſſary, which would have run very high among the *Florentines* if they had been contented with the Glory which they had acquired, and known how to uſe their Good-fortune with Moderation. After they had retired to their Quarters, it was no longer a Queſtion, whether they ſhould reſolve to raiſe the Siege, eſpecially ſince on the ſame Day there entered into *Piſa*, by Order of the Great Captain, Six Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot which were in *Piombino*. The next Day, therefore, the *Florentine* Army retired to *Caſcina*

Caſcina with remarkable Diſgrace, and a few Days after entered *Piſa* Fifteen Hundred *Spaniſh* Infantry more, who, finding their Aſſiſtance was not neceſſary, after they had, at the Sollicitations of the *Piſans*, made a fruitleſs Attack on *Bientina*, proſecuted their intended Voyage by Sea to *Spain*, whither they were ordered by the Great Captain, becauſe a Peace was concluded between the King of *France* and *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*. A. D. 1505. Siege raiſed.

ALL the Difficulties which had before obſtructed a Reconciliation between the two Kings, as thoſe which related to the Honour of the King of *France*, and his Fear of alienating the Affections of the Archduke, were ſoon removed, and Means eaſily found for an Accommodation, by the Death of the Queen of *Spain*. For the King of *France*, who could not endure the exorbitant Grandeur of the Archduke, was deſirous to defeat his Projects. And the King of *Spain* being informed that the Archduke, deſpiſing the Will of his Mother-in-law, had formed a Deſign to remove him from the Kingdom

D. A. 1505. dom of *Caſtile*, was neceſſitated to eſtabliſh himſelf by new Affinities. For this End he entered into Articles of Matrimony with Madame *Germaine de Foix*, Daughter of a Siſter of the King of *France*, on condition that the King ſhould give with her in Dowry that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples* which belonged to his Share, the King of *Spain* obliging himſelf to pay him, in the Space of Ten Years, Seven Hundred Thouſand Ducats, by way of indemnifying for Coſts, and to make a Settlement of Three Hundred Thouſand Ducats on his new Spouſe *. In conſideration of this Marriage, attended with a Peace, it was agreed that the *Anjouin* Barons, with all thoſe who followed the *French* Party, ſhould be reſtored gratis to their Liberty, Country, Eſtates, Effects, and Honours, in the State in which they enjoyed them on the Day when the War firſt broke out between the *French* and *Spaniards*, which is declared to be the Day that the *French* made an Incurſion to *Tripalda*. All the Confiſcations

* This Peace and Affinity between the two Kings were concluded at *Blois* in *October* 1505.

fiſcations made by the King of *Spain*, and by King *Federigo*, were by this Agreement declared void and null: That the Prince of *Roſſano*, the Marquiſſes of *Bitonto* and *Geſualdo*, *Alfonſo* and *Honorato Sanſeverini*, and all the other Barons that were Priſoners to the *Spaniards* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſhould be ſet at liberty: That the King of *France* ſhall renounce the Title of King of *Jeruſalem* and of *Naples*: That the Homages and Recognitions of the Barons ſhall be performed with reſpect to the abovementioned Articles of Agreement, and in the ſame manner ſhall the Inveſtiture be ſollicited from the Pope. If Queen *Germaine* ſhould die in Wedlock without Iſſue, her Dowry ſhould remain to *Ferdinando*; but if ſhe ſurvived him, it was then to revert to the Crown of *France*. *Ferdinando* ſhall be obliged to aſſiſt *Gaſton* Count *de Foix*, Brother to his new Spouſe, in the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Navarra*, to which he laid claim, as having been poſſeſſed, with a regal Title, by *Catherine de Foix*, and by *John d' Albret* her Huſband. That the King of *France* A. D. 1505.

A. D. 1505. ſhall oblige the Widow of King *Federigo* and her two Sons, who reſided in his Court, to depart for *Spain*, where they ſhall be aſſigned an honourable Maintenance: That if the Queen refuſed to go, ſhe ſhall be diſmiſſed from the Kingdom of *France*, and no further Proviſion or Entertainment be allowed her nor her Children. Either of the contracting Parties was prohibited by theſe Preſents from acting againſt thoſe whom the other ſhould nominate; and they both jointly named in *Italy* the Pope, and the King of *France* in particular the *Florentines*. And for Corroboration of the Peace, it was declared, that there ſhould be a perpetual Confederacy between the two Kings, for the Defence of their States, for which Purpoſe the King of *France* ſhould be obliged to furniſh One Thouſand Lances and Six Thouſand Foot; and *Ferdinando* Three Hundred Lances, Two Thouſand Gennets, and Six Thouſand Foot.

After this Peace, of which the King of

of *England* was Guarantee *, the *Anjouin* Barons, who were in *France*, were dismissed by the King, who, agreeably to his tenacious Temper, treated them at Parting with few Marks of Gratitude. Almost all of them attended Queen *Germaine* into *Spain*, and *Isabella*, who had been Wife to *Federigo*, being dismissed by the King of *France*, and obliged to leave the Kingdom, because she refused to entrust her Children in the Hands of the Catholic King, retired to *Ferrara*. In this City *Ercole d' Este* was deceased a little before, and was succeeded in the Dukedom by his Son *Alfonso*. And towards the End of this Year was committed in the same Town a tragical Fact resembling those of the antient *Thebans*, but on a more slight Occasion, if the unbridled Fury of Love be indeed a slighter Motive than the ardent Ambition of Empire. Cardinal *Ippolito d' Este* was enamoured of a young Lady, his Kinswoman, who

A. D. 1505.

* In the Original literally *of which the King of* England *promised Observation for one Party as well as the other*; which Words explain the Nature of a Guaranty.

A. D. 1505. on her Part was no leſs ardently in Love with Don *Giulio*, natural Brother to *Ippolito*, and plainly confeſſed to *Ippolito*, that, above all other Charms, ſhe was deeply ſmitten with the Beauty of Don *Giulio*'s Eyes. The Cardinal being ſtung with Jealouſy, watched a convenient Time when he could light of *Giulio* out of the City, and had him ſurrounded in the Field by his Servants, who made him diſmount from his Horſe, and before the Cardinal, who had the Heart to be preſent at ſuch a Scene of Villainy, diſlocated his Eyes, the Rivals of his Love. This proved afterwards an Occaſion of much Striſe and bitter Contention between the Brothers; and thus ended the Year 1505.

The End of the Sixth Book, and Third Volume.

ERRATA.

Page 19, the Pancintici r. and Pancliatici. 21 *Rouen* r. made *Reuen*. 24 erected r. made. 27 *Clouiſe* r. *Claude*. 44 his Father before r. before his Father, and then r. and he then. 214 now r. and. 228. *vindit* r. *vendit*. 241 Pontiff r. Pontificate. 247 were in r. had been. 254 was buried r. were. 255 alſo r. they alſo. 260 himſelf r. themſelves. 310 Earth, r. Earth. 318 Bill r. Bull. remained r. remain. 337 reſtore to r. reſtore the &c.

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